

Maclean's

A POLL
OF AMERICANS
AND CANADIANS

SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

- Exclusive Interviews With President George Bush
And Prime Minister Brian Mulroney
- Peter Jennings And John Irving On Whether Canada And
The United States Should Become One Nation



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CANADA INC.

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The President says that a united Germany within NATO and maintaining a U.S. presence in Europe are in the interests of Canada as well as the United States—and of the Soviet Union.

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Photos of the Mulroneys and the Bushes from the Prime Minister's family album, a personal record of a brief working holiday in Kronsberg, N.Y.

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North American women rate Tom Cruise the sexiest man among six choices; their respective national leaders the men they would like to meet. For men, the sexiest on a list of six women: Madonna and Mariella Pfyfer.

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The Two Nations poll places national unity near the top among important problems in Canadian minds; social and moral issues come first for Americans.

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Bilingualism is deemed in both Canada and the United States, says an expert in both French-English and Spanish-English politics and programs.

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About one in four people polled in each country says that race relations have improved, few favor increased immigration.

84 FROM UNDER TWO HATS

Norfolk John Irving shows nationalities, but predicts that Canada's social insurance would prosper in a merger with the United States.

86 'NEVER! JAMAICA'

For journalist-writer Peter Jennings, a telling difference between his native and adoptive lands is expressed in the willingness of Canadians to wait for their nation instead of demanding to hold it together.

88 FOTHERINGHAM



SARAH COOPER/STOCK PHOTO

LETTERS

MEECH TALKS 'UNACCEPTABLE'

I wish to express admiration for the efforts of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells during the difficult process implemented by Brian Mulroney ("On the Rock," Cover, June 18). That process demonstrated an arrogant, arrogant, even contempt, for ordinary citizens, to whom the Constitution belongs. That our leaders did not see fit to expose at least a substantial portion of the meetings to public scrutiny is unacceptable. I dissent for Canada.
J. A. McNab
Windsor, Ont.

A TIMELY LESSON IN HISTORY

As a Quebecer, I had determined that the Meech Lake talks were nothing but expedient ploys by power hungry politicians. But after reading "In search of a nation's heart" (Cover, June 11), I admit to having reconsidered my views. That article provided a simple, factual refresher course in the history of our nation.
Peter Corbridge
Brampton, Ont.

I have spent many hours trying to make sense of the Meech Lake accord and all the accompanying discussion. You have encapsulated the entire problem and its historical background in just eight short pages. Thank you.
Joan Martin
Windsor, Ont.

'TRULY CARING PEOPLE'

In your March 19 issue, you printed my letter concerning "The loss of language" (Cover, Feb. 18). Several days later, we received an acceptance gift from Ottawa and hope you will publish this letter so we may thank that generous person. The letter is now proudly shown in our home as a reminder to us and to others that there are truly caring people in this world.
Lori Martin
Windsor, N.S.

FORESTS AND 'BIG-CITY' FOTH

Forestry conglomerates have for years sought impressive profits while reducing forestry jobs and almost destroying communities in the name of economic efficiency ("A final warning about the last frontier," Column, Allan Fotheringham, May 28). Centuries-old forests have been leveled, the tourism potential and quality of B.C. wilderness reduced, and habitats destroyed or destroyed. The lack of accountability of forest companies to the true resource owners—you and I—is appalling.
Timo Malinen
New Westminster, B.C.



Wells 'admiration' and 'contempt'

Allan Fotheringham has jumped on the green bandwagon and is joining many other environmental big-city fish in putting the knife in the forest industry. As far as using old wood growth wastefully, the paper used for Fotheringham's

is a good example. It would have been per to better use giving an unbiased explanation of what forestry means in the economy and how it is changing to meet environmental and consumer demands.

Tim Bensch
Richmond, B.C.

Because the overwhelming majority of B.C. land is publicly owned, the government controls how the timber resource is managed. As a result, logging is strictly regulated. If the public wishes to view logging plans or participate in the planning process, it can. The B.C. forest industry harvests, in total, just one per cent of the working forest annually—compared to, for better than, any country in the world. Before Fotheringham accepts as gospel the "various research" of another writer, he should do a bit of research of his own. He can start by getting out of his urban anchor to see for himself what is going on in British Columbia's forests.

Frank Lertz,
Vice-President, Logging,
Fletcher Challenge Canada,
Vancouver

Letter are either not true, or confused. Bensch should explain, explain, explain, explain. Bensch should explain. Letter to Editor: Bensch's suggestion, Bensch should explain. Letter to Editor: Bensch's suggestion, Bensch should explain. Letter to Editor: Bensch's suggestion, Bensch should explain.

PASSAGES

SENTENCED: Former White House adviser John Poindexter, 53, in six months in prison on charges arising from his involvement in the 1989 Iran-contra affair. The retired news anchor was convicted on two counts of lying to Congress, two of obstructing Congress and one of conspiring to cover up the plan to sell arms to Iran and funnel the profits to Nicaraguan rebels. Poindexter is the only one of the nine men charged in connection with the affair to receive a jail term. The courts had already sentenced his aide, Oliver North, to two years' probation, 1,200 hours of community service and a \$150,000 fine. Poindexter faced a maximum penalty of 75 years.

APPEALED: By the federal justice department, the May 25 acquittal of James Pinta, 77, a police captain in New-occupied Hungary during the Second World War. Pinta, a retired Toronto restaurateur, faced charges of crimes against humanity in the deportation of 8,667 Jews from Szeged. The appeal cited 26 grounds, most dealing with the trial judge's handling of the case. The Crown is asking the Ontario Court of Appeal to order a new trial for Pinta. The prosecution won the first court test of Canada's 1987 war-crimes legislation.

MARRIED: Karen Percy, 33, an Olympic and World Cup speed skater, to Kevin Lewis, 31, a defenceman on the Stanley Cup-winning Edmonton Oilers hockey team at the Banff Springs Hotel in Banff. Also Oilers captain Mark Messier was



best man, and former Oiler Wayne Gretzky, who is now with the Los Angeles Kings, attended the ceremony.

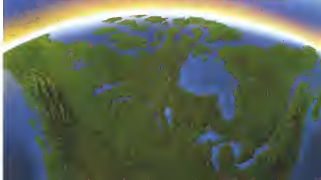
DIED: Sir James Carreras, 81, a producer of horror movies that thrilled a generation, of a stroke, at his home at Shirley-on-Thames, England. His Hammer Film company made luridly colored versions of such classics as Dracula and Frankenstein. Hammer's One Million BC (1965) helped propel Raquel Welch to fame.

DIED: Lord (Jermine) O'Neill, 75, promoter of Northern Ireland from 1963 to 1966, at his home in southern Britain. O'Neill, a Protestant moderate, is credited with improving the civil rights of the Roman Catholic minority during his turbulent terms of office.

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Harper, with symbolic feather, and supporters using delaying tactics to fight for constitutional recognition of native

CANADA

DOWN TO THE WIRE

The amplified beat of tribal drums and the rhythmic churn of aboriginal protesters were clearly audible in Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon's second-floor office in Winnipeg's provincial Legislative Buildings. The sounds underscored the sense of mounting drama as, throughout last week, Manitoba's three political parties tried without success to push the troubled Meech Lake accord through the legislature before its June 23 deadline. For the protesters, the motive was simple: constitutional leaders have long complained that the accord does not do enough to recognise native rights. And last week, hundreds of native representatives gathered daily in front of the Manitoba legislature to support MP M.A. Eliah Harper, a Cree Indian, in his determined bid to block the ratification (page 12). By week's end, three efforts appeared to have been largely successful. Dozens of the soft-spoken Harper? "I feel I didn't stop this process, I would regret it for the rest of my life."

Harper's defiant resistance dealt an unexpected and potentially lethal blow to the constitutional accord's chances of being ratified by its

THE MEECH LAKE ACCORD FACES ITS FINAL HURDLES IN THE MANITOBA AND NEWFOUNDLAND LEGISLATURES

deadline at the end of this week. Filmon, who early last week privately assured Prime Minister Brian Mulroney that Manitoba would only sign the accord on one, soundless parameter by week's end. Dedicated Filmon: "There is a very strong possibility that we cannot complete it within the time we have available." At the same time, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who said that he would hold a vote on the accord's passage in the province's house of assembly, craved his opposition's nod. While

acknowledging that the accord's failure could have "a disastrous effect on the economic and political viability of Canada," Wells added that "it is still my view the accord should be rejected."

What else good news there was for the accord's supporters last week came from the solely Liberal New Brunswick legislature, which followed former leader Premier Frank McKenna's lead and unanimously approved the agreement on Friday. Assembly members then broke into an impromptu celebration of G-Canada in French and English. But in Ottawa, the euphoria that followed the end of marathon week-long negotiations among the 11 First Ministers on June 9 gave way to concern over the dwindling chances for the Meech accord's successful passage.

The closed-door consultations in the capital ended with a resolution committing the three provinces withholding approval of Meech Lake to present it to their legislatures before June 23. At the same time, all the provinces and the federal government agreed to address the dissenters' concerns about the accord after it was passed. But by the end of last week, only

New Brunswick had fulfilled its commitment. By contrast, both Filmon and Wells suggested that the deadline might need to be extended if the accord was to have a chance of passing in their legislatures. But in order to meet the deadline, some constitutional experts assert that each of the 10 provincial legislatures and the federal government would have to pass resolutions extending the deadline. Filmon's part: Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, who already faces strong opposition to the accord from anti-secessionists in his province, described that likelihood as "practically impossible." Still, Bourassa appeared to leave a leader opening for such a solution, adding, "If the situation does not correct itself, we might consider it."

With the approaching September accord, several key federal government officials—including Senator Lowell Murray, Mulroney's senior adviser on federal-provincial relations—held a series of meetings late in the week with several aboriginal leaders. Their aim was to

a procedural error. First, by being the only M.A. to withhold his approval, Harper denied Filmon the unanimous consent he needed to begin public hearings on the accord immediately, without giving the 48-hour notice required by Manitoba law. Two days later, he again frustrated Filmon by pointing out that the premier did not include all the necessary documents when he tabled his motion. After deliberating until three hours later, Manitoba Speaker or Dennis Rocco agreed with Harper's technical point. That left Filmon with no choice under Manitoba's rules of legislative procedure but to wait until Wednesday, June 28, before he tries again to introduce a Meech resolution.

Meanwhile, more than 1,000 people—many of them representing aboriginal groups—quickly registered their intention to speak at the public hearings. With little time remaining for the hearings, an increasing number of observers predicted that the accord was doomed. Said Mulroney's senior adviser Gary Dyer:

"The chances of succeeding now—how should I say it—are slim."

As the agreement appeared to unravel, Mulroney came under heavy criticism that intensified after he made an extraordinary admission in an interview with the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. In the interview, Mulroney said that he had deliberately delayed calling the First Ministers together in order to brighten the prospect on the behalf of the protesters. That statement contradicted Mulroney's earlier assertions that he delayed the talks to give the 287 provincial legislators in order to give them more time to consider the accord. Mulroney's remarks, however, were not intended to suggest that the accord was doomed.

Mulroney quickly responded that the newspaper's version of his remarks did not accurately reflect his statement. But his opponents pointed out the apparent contradiction. John Turner, who has seldom spoken as the Conservative since handing over the Opposition leadership to Sir Guy O. February, rose to accuse Mulroney of having "gilded with the facts of our country" by allowing the delay in Winnipeg. Filmon



Wells (right) visiting his riding; intense debate

persuade the native groups to stop supporting Harper's delay tactics. But defiant native leaders said after the actual meetings that their support would continue unless the government made no concessions. And Georges Erasmus, the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, for one: "Read my lips and lock it in my eyes: aboriginal people are not going to accept exclusion from the Meech Lake accord. It is going to be done."

Harper's success in delaying passage of the accord was based on his alleged exploitation of

what the Prime Minister's remarks had infuriated many Manitobans, contributing to the risks facing the accord. He told *Manitoba's* "It wasn't my decision to leave it until the last minute to have these final negotiations. The Prime Minister chose to leave it as long as he could to put greater pressure on the process."

The renewed tensions were also evident with the Conservative caucus. During their regular weekly meeting on Wednesday, Mulroney ordered they split out to discuss the accord publicly after June 23. But the following

National Notes

AN ELECTED SENATOR

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed former Canadian Forces general and businessman Stanley Waters, who served 10 last week, to the Senate to represent Alberta. Waters, a member of the Reform Party of Canada, was an unprecedented provincial election last October to select Alberta's next Senate nominee. Said Waters of his appointment: "I just hope it is the beginning of making the upper house democratic and responsive to the people of Canada—the way it should have been years ago."

POLICING THE GST

Officials announced that it will establish a 25-member agency to monitor and publicize—but not to enforce—consumer price increases after implementation of the new government Goods and Services Tax on Jan. 1. The agency will monitor stories of the accuracy of individual companies. Opposition spokesmen denounced the proposed panel as a lockstep tiger.

QUESTIONABLE DONATIONS

Serious charges of violating Ontario's Election Financing Act were laid against former Liberal fund-raiser Patricia Starr and a charitable foundation, the Toronto section of the National Council of Jewish Women, which she headed from 1985 to 1989. Most of the charges concern donations made during the 2007 provincial election campaign to the Liberals or to other associations or campaigns of eight individual politicians.

CLAIMS OF KIDNAPERS

Former provincial deputy minister of government services Michael Zaretsky claimed that Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan had taken kidnapping and initially interfered to ensure that his friends received millions of dollars' worth of government contracts. Buchanan's wife denied the charges, which are under review by the RCMP. Zaretsky is using the government over the loss of his job last October.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

An Ontario Superior Court jury found a Toronto couple, Kowalski and Sonia Allison, guilty of failing to provide the necessities of life to their daughter Lorne, who died in September, 1987, of malnutrition. The couple was charged with neglect and stopped taking their child to a physician and placed her under the care of a brother, Gerhard Kowalski, before her death. When she died, 17-month-old Lorne Allison weighed just over 11 lb.—normal for a three-month-old baby.

day, Patrick Nowlan, a 25-year returnee MP from Nova Scotia, said he was quitting the caucus in protest over the way the accord was negotiated. Declared Nowlan: "Blatant, bluff and blackmail do not make good constitutional soup." Meanwhile, one anti-party organizer said that as many as a dozen Quebecers have threatened their caucus to quit the party if the accord is not passed by June 23.

Similar dissents were also evident among Liberals, like Sheila Copps and Paul Martin, both candidates for the party's leadership, harshly criticized their front-running rival Jean Chrétien for his refusal to take a public stand for or against the latest attempt to salvage the accord (page 13).

Still, the latest obstacles to Meech could be beyond the ability of either Mulroney or Chrétien to remove. Even if Mulroney managed to resolve the procedural disputes halting up the accord's progress

in the Manitoba assembly, public sentiment in the province was plainly running strongly against the accord. In a public opinion poll, conducted by Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group, showed that only 31 per cent of Manitobans polled expressed support for the agreement. Opponents of the accord, meanwhile, took out paid ads in several provincial newspapers last week to urge its rejection. And business groups, whose support



Pro-sovereignty rally in Montreal: strong nationalist opposition

Wilson has sought, largely remained silent.

Opposition to the agreement appeared equally strong in Newfoundland. Wells, who made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the Ottawa compromise on the accord, was greeted as a hero when he returned home to announce that Newfoundland's final decision would be left to a free vote among the 52 members of the provincial House of Assembly. With that, Wells descended an intense debate in

critics and supporters of the accord voted for the retention of individual MHA's. With all 23 opposition votes—19 Conservatives and two Independents—expected to vote in favour of the accord, at least five of Wells's Liberals also had to support it to ensure passage. Still, many observers predicted that when the accord came to a vote late this week, it would pass by a narrow margin despite Wells's opposition. Declared Christopher Dunn, a professor of political science at Newfoundland's Memorial University: "Alec Meech's opinion has softened in the last 10 days, but the antagonism is still there."

For his part, Harper remained calm—and apparently convinced that his actions were correct. As he met with other native leaders in a Winnipeg ballroom, Harper said that aboriginal people have "shared our land and resources with other Canadians so we could live side by side."

But the Meech Lake agreement, he added, "is not what we bargained for." With time running out for the accord, any belatedly bargained-for solution had to include new participants—and, it seemed likely, a much stiffer price.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with
FRANK WALLACE in Winnipeg, GUY BOWEN
in Ottawa, JERRY CAMI in Montreal and
GLEN ALLEN in St. John's

ELIJAH HARPER VERSUS MEECH

With his near-length black hair tied back in braids as a ponytail, 50-year-old Elijah Harper, a Manitoba native, made it to the Manitoba legislature. Until recently, few observers would have predicted that the soft-spoken former Cree chief would hold Canada's constitutional future in his hands. Yet as last week ended, Harper's use of procedural delaying tactics threatened to prevent the Manitoba government from ratifying the Meech Lake accord before its June 23 deadline. At the same time, it became clear that Harper was speaking for aboriginal Canadians from far beyond his own riding who want their rights as well as those of Quebec's "distinct society" formally recognized in the Constitution. Declared George Erasmus, the Ottawa-based national chief of the Assembly of First Na-

tions: "Elijah had always intended to vote against the accord and show his support for native people. But we never expected to end this dance."

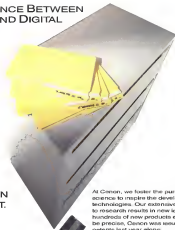
Erasmus and other native leaders, eager to take advantage of the unexpected opportunity, quickly aligned Harper behind support. In Ottawa, Erasmus threatened his group's demand for constitutional concessions to add fuel to a feared recognition of aboriginal rights in the body of the Constitution, natives have sought a guarantee that they will be given a role as future First Ministers' conferees affirming native rights. And in Winnipeg, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, representing the province's 46,000 Indians, made it clear that they were unwilling to allow their concerns to be put off until the future. Said Philip Pontasie, leader of the Manitoba Chiefs: "We have fought before and we have been sold out every time. We don't want to be sold out this time."

For his part, Harper sometimes appeared uncomfortable at the attention created by his actions. The quiet-spoken father of four was

first elected in 1981 to represent the sprawling, mostly native northern riding of Rupert's Land. Under former NDP premier Bernard Poiry—one of the accord's original signatories—he served as minister for native affairs. But since Poiry's government fell in March 1988, Harper has been a lonely legislator who has only spoken out when he posed the successful demands for a provincial inquiry into the fatal 1986 shooting of an Inuit woman (p. 1) Harper by Winnipeg police. Last week, however, Harper said that his protest on behalf of native people was aimed directly at Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. "It wouldn't work for the Prime Minister to call the leader of the Manitoba Assembly of Chiefs," said Harper, "because the chiefs would have to listen to whatever offer he makes." At the very least, Mulroney's early action may have ensured that he once could not be ignored.

BRIAN BURGESS with
FRANK WALLACE in Winnipeg

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANALOGUE AND DIGITAL



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VEERING TO THE RIGHT

From opposite ends of the political spectrum come starkly contrasting assessments. "Aris, King of Israel" and "The Rebel of Beirut," Foreign defense minister Ariel Sharon, who led the controversial 1982 invasion of Lebanon, secured a new post last week that will guarantee him continued stature as both a hero and a villain in Israel's divided electorate. As housing minister in Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's new hard-line coalition government, 63-year-old Sharon will be responsible for the absorption of as many as 250,000 Soviet Jewish immigrants this year—many of whom, Palestinians charge, will settle in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. And in the fervent cabinet office of the PLO, Sharon represents a major obstacle to Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. In fact, both Palestinians and Israeli opposition leaders warn of what they call "Sharonization," the domination of the government by extremist right-wingners who may steer Israeli policy towards open conflict with neighboring Arab states. "As long as that government is in power," says Zakaria Khalil, a leading Palestinian nationalist from East Jerusalem, "the peace process will be dead."

Sharon, whose new government was approved on June 12 in a parliamentary confidence vote of 62 to 57, worked little time in creating controversy. He announced a new precondition for peace talks, claiming that Israel will negotiate only with Palestinian representatives who accept Israel's idea of limited autonomy for the occupied territories. In Washington, Secretary of State James Baker reacted angrily to the Israeli move. He told the House foreign affairs committee that keeping a peace initiative alive requires "some really good-faith affirmative effort on the part of our friends in Israel [because] the United States of America can't settle it happen." Baker, who had worked for 11 months on a plan to arrange for direct talks between Israelis and Palestinians, then blurted out the telephone number of the White House, 202-456-1414, and blurted out Israel. "When you're serious about peace, call us."

At the same time, neighboring Arab reaction to the new Israeli government was decidedly negative. In Egypt, the only Arab country to

SHAMIR'S NEW HARD-LINE CABINET RAISES FEARS OF OPEN CONFLICT WITH NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES

have signed a peace agreement with Israel, an official statement declared that Sharon's cabinet had apparently begun "to prepare for aggression and war." In Jordan, King Hussein called Israel's government a "dangerous threat." And President Hafez al-Assad of Syria warned of the possibility of a new war with the Jewish state, saying that such a confrontation

would be bloodier than any of the three between Israel and Arab nations since 1948.

The prospect for all-out conflict to the region is real, says Richard Murphy, a senior Middle East expert at the Council on Foreign Relations, a non-profit foundation in New York City. Murphy, a veteran ambassador and former assistant secretary of state in the Reagan administration, told *Morocco* that on one can "bring off the possibility of a war when within the area you have interests, tensions, and the various defense systems, be they in Israel or the Arab world, who have developed a high-tech capability in nuclear, chemical and the beginnings of biological warfare research."

Rabin's new coalition government, no longer constrained by the influence of the Labor Party, which led a moderating effect on the old national unity government that collapsed in March, is free to pursue hawkish policies. It is composed of Sharon's conservative Likud bloc; two small far-right parties, Tzomet and Tami, which advocate the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as well as continued Jewish settlement there; and three religious parties, the National Religious Party and the ultra-Orthodox Shas and Degel HaTorah. Another far-right party, Meimad, supports the coalition but did not officially join. Led by a former general, Meimad has called for the "transfer," or expulsion, of Arabs from Israel.



Israeli forces and Palestinian demonstrators at a storm of Arab criticism



Sharon, Police Minister Ron Milo and Shamir: new conditions for peace talks

Five days before announcing the new precondition for peace talks, the government issued new policy guidelines that bar open direct negotiations with the PLO. The guidelines also exclude Arabs living in Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem as voters or candidates in proposed elections to choose Palestinian representatives to peace talks. And they exclude the Arab portion of the divided capital from the limited autonomy plan for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. That policy conflicts with a proposal put forward by Baker, which calls for all 1.7 million Arabs in the occupied territories, including 143,000 living in East Jerusalem, to take part in the elections.

Meanwhile, many Palestinians expressed concern that Sharon will encourage more Israeli settlement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The former general has called for tougher measures to suppress the 30-month-old intifada, or uprising, against Israeli rule in the occupied territories, which he maintains are the heart of biblical Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel). Officially, Israel denies that its policy is to settle newcomers in occupied land. Of the more than 51,000 Soviet Jews who have arrived in Israel since last year, only an estimated 3,500 have settled in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. And Sharon's media adviser, Avi Panner, told *Morocco* that under Sharon "there will be no special incentive" for newcomers to move to the territories.

Last week, Sharon, the most prominent hawk in a cabinet that includes such hard-liners as Foreign Minister David Levy and Poisons Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, declared that his aim

was to absorb one million immigrants from the Soviet Union over the next few years. Completed prominent Palestinian moderate Sari Nusseibeh. "As the numbers rise, Palestinians worry whether they will be the long run be allowed to live at all in this territory, including East Jerusalem."

Although clearly irritated by the new Israeli positions on peace talks, Baker also had some harsh words for the PLO last week. Appearing before the Senate foreign relations committee, he warned the PLO that Washington would halt or suspend its 30-month-old dialogue if the organization did not specifically denounce a failed undercover terrorist raid against Israel on May 30 by a gun faction.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat, who in 1988 formally renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to exist, has tried to disassociate his movement's organization from the attack on a crowded Israeli beach. Arafat has repeatedly said that it was carried out without his authority by the extremist Palestinian Liberation Front, which is led by infamous terrorist Abu Abbas. An official PLO statement on the incident last week declared: "We remain against any military action which targets civilians, regardless of the nature of such action, and we condemn it." But the statement clearly did not satisfy Baker. And the threatened diplomatic break by Washington left open the possibility that the PLO would be further isolated at the very time when Israel is taking a sharp turn to the right.

ANDREW BILSKY with ERIC SILVER in Geneva and MELAY MACKENZIE in Washington

World Notes

BLOODSHED IN BUCHAREST

At least four Romanians died and more than 100 were injured in riots sparked by a police raid on anti-government demonstrators who had occupied a main square in Bucharest since April 23. Protesters fought running battles with police and set fire to police headquarters. Meanwhile, Ion Iliescu, a former Communist official elected president last month, called on thousands of club-wielding citizens to maintain order in the capital.

BARRY BOWTS OUT

During a protest in his trial on cocaine and perjury charges, Washington Mayor Marion Barry, 54, announced that he would not run for re-election. Barry was arrested on Jan. 18 after the FBI videotaped him in a hotel hotel room, allegedly smoking crack cocaine.

FREEDOM TO MOVE

In Czechoslovakia, Czech France, which led the drive to oust the country's Communist leaders last November, was a resounding victory in national elections. Meanwhile, Bulgarians voted overwhelmingly for the Socialist party, made up of former Communists. Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria were the last of six Eastern European states to hold free elections since their Communist regimes crumbled last fall.

FUELING THE FLAMES

The Norwegian oil tanker *Mega* Borge spilled more than three million gallons of light oil into the Gulf of Mexico after an explosion and fire on the vessel. Cleanup workers used water and foam to fight the fire and used skimming booms and floating booms to try to contain the 23-mile-long slick before it reached Texas beaches.

FUNDAMENTALIST VICTORY

Islamic fundamentalists won a sweeping victory in Algeria's local elections, the country's first free vote in 20 years. The results mark a decisive end to the ruling socialist National Liberation Front, which has held sole power since it led the country to independence from France in 1962.

A PANAMANIAN CONNECTION

Immigration officials in Atlanta said that they had uncovered a plot to smuggle more than 35,000 Chinese students into the United States from Panama after efforts to intercept 60 Chinese overseas at the Fairplay, Ala., airport. Many of those were young adults who fled China after the government crushed a pro-democracy spring last year, officials said.

PERU

Victory amid violence

The new president faces a daunting task

Wendy Ferreiras decided him as a "Tilly Chaverra." But Alberto Fujimori, who is actually the son of Japanese immigrants, turned the recent election to his advantage. He kicked a platform to the back of a tractor and campaigned in the impoverished Andean highlands, where Indians also suffer discrimination at the hands of the coastal elite. That strategy paid off. Last week, the 51-year-old agronomist, almost unknown publicly until a few months ago, scored a resounding victory at Peru's presidential runoff, defeating Mario Vargas Llosa, an anticorruptor 54-year-old novelist, by close to 50 per cent, according to preliminary results. Addressing his supporters from a balcony in Lima, the capital, Fujimori confirmed his pledge to improve the lot of Peru's poor, whom he called "the forgotten people."

That will be a daunting task, but Fujimori has defied the odds before. The right-of-center Vargas Llosa, backed by big business and the

Roman Catholic Church, had led by as much as 55 per cent in opinion polls in March. When Ferreiras voted in the first round on April 8, however, Fujimori, who struggled up his father's tall toes and then flourished a close second. Last week's landslide completed the upset.

Fujimori describes the situation in Peru as "almost catastrophic." A 10-year war waged by the Maoist Shining Path guerrillas has killed 17,000 people. Half the countryside is under military rule. The most profitable rural activity is growing coca leaf, the source of 60 per cent of the world's cocaine, and that is largely controlled by the marijuana mafia in running at 3,000 per cent a year,

the central bank has only \$175 million of reserves, and many foreign banks have refused to lend Peru money since ousting President Alan Garcia restricted debt payments in 1985. Fujimori's solutions are mostly negative. He has promised not to sell all state firms or fire public employees, part of a free-market program that Vargas Llosa had recommended. Fujimori also says that military force is not the way to stamp out the drug industry. He favors a more gradual program of crop substitution that would give coca growers higher prices for other agricultural products.

Before he takes office on July 28, Fujimori plans to visit the United States, Canada and Europe. Japan has also invited him, although Japanese Finance Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto said that Fujimori should not expect more aid just because of his victory. Many Japanese-Ferreiras may be relieved by that statement. Alarmed by the anti-Oriental sentiments that surfaced during the campaign, many said that they would rather not have more attention focused on the ethnic origins of their new president.



Fujimori's racist answers

HOLGER JENSEN with KATHRYN LEECE in Lima

THE SOVIET UNION

Compromising positions

The Kremlin eases its Baltic blockade

It was a modest concession. Trying to stem the rift between Moscow and Lithuania, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Rykshov announced on August 1 of the fuel embargo last week to just one of the republic's factories. The first-time plant at Jonava, officials said, would get enough natural gas to operate at 30-per-cent capacity and re-employ about 1,000 laid-off workers. That did not amount to a lifting of sanctions, imposed after Lithuania unilaterally declared its independence in March 11. But it was the clearest sign yet of the Kremlin's eagerness to break the Baltic impasse and negotiate a formula that would satisfy all its fractious republics without breaking up the Soviet Union. Said Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimieras Prunskis: "It is very obvious that they want negotiations to begin."

Otherwise, it was a week of compromise for beleaguered Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. He also reversed himself on a key condition for German reunification, and his government postponed unpopular bread-price

increases that were to have gone into effect next month. But the Lithuanian concession was widely viewed as the most significant. It came one day after Gorbachev suggested what he called a "union treaty" between Moscow and the 15 republics. The treaty would yield sovereignty in all areas except defense, foreign affairs and some aspects of finance. But each republic would be allowed to select its own system of government and would be largely responsible for its own economy.

Republican leaders greeted the proposal cautiously. "So far, it's only words," said Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis. But Kremlin hard-liners expressed outrage. Yegor Ligachev, Gorbachev's chief Politburo rival, complained that "our federation is being taken to pieces. If we continue to make one concession after another, we may lose everything."

Gorbachev's pronouncements on Germany reinforced that concern. The Soviet president agreed for the first time that West German troops could remain in NATO without a corre-

sponding role for East Germans in the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. His remarks, made during a report to the Soviet parliament on his recent meeting with President George Bush three weeks ago, fell short of Western demands for unconditional German membership in NATO. But officials in Washington said that they were becoming increasingly convinced that Gorbachev had reconciled himself to the idea.

Gorbachev clearly hopes that Washington will reactivate by granting economic assistance to the Soviet Union. That could help alleviate some of the country's most pressing problems and, in theory, make membership in the Soviet Union attractive enough so that none of its republics would want to leave. On that front, perestroika gave Gorbachev some breathing space last week by agreeing, in principle, his plan to create a free-market economy. But legislators, obviously reluctant to remove subsidies to bread and other staples, told the government to come up with a new plan for price reform by Sept. 1.

Analysts say that Gorbachev's biggest test will be the 28th Communist party congress, which begins on July 2. If it ends in a party split, as is widely predicted, the Soviet president would face the unenviable choice of joining the reformers, who accuse him of doing too little, or crowding back the conservatives, who accuse him of doing too much.

HOLGER JENSEN with DEANNE RINEHART in Moscow

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RETURN FROM EXILE

**ROSS JOHNSON IS
BACK AT WORK, BUT
AT A MORE
RELAXED PACE
THAN WHEN HE RAN
RJR NABISCO**

Ross Johnson, Nabisco Industries Ltd.'s newest—and most controversial—director, sprinkled his chair at the company's annual meeting in Toronto earlier this month and turned on his legendary charm. The former president of RJR Nabisco Ltd., who lost his job after leading an unsuccessful management bid to take over the colossal conglomerate that owns such household brand names as Oreo cookies, Ritz crackers and Camel cigarettes, chatted and joked with his fellow board members. Just 18 months ago, when Johnson was still a member of the global corporate elite, leading him as a corporate board member would have been a coup. But Johnson's election on June 7 to the board of Nabisco, a manufacturer whose best-known product is Christmas tree lights, proved soft on consumers. Fortunes have clearly changed for the exiled executive who now runs a small consulting company in Atlanta. Following the meeting, he told *Nabisco's* "You bet it is a change to go from having thousands of employees to having just six—and three of them are secretaries—it is wonderful."

Johnson, 58, grew up in Winnipeg, son of the head of a Winnipeg lock company. Claims in the talent most often cited as Johnson's best managerial skill, particularly when it came to ingratiating himself with his boards of directors. Johnson may be finding that there does not go as far as it once did. His latest attempt to take over RJR, later chronicled in an international best-seller, *Barbarians at the Gate*, became a classic example of 1980s corporate greed today, as an unlikely candidate for a top job with any other widely held public company. Nabisco's shares trade on the stock exchange, but the company is firmly controlled by chairman Tom Beck, a friend of Johnson's for 30 years ago when Johnson sold light bulbs for Canadian General Electric Co. in Toronto and Beck was starting Norel.



Johnson, with wife Laurie: "he does not like to be down, so he is not"

Still Johnson, who is reputed to have pocketed \$61.5 million from his last Nabisco severance package and personal stock as company shares, does not need to rely on directors' attempts to make ends meet. Joked Johnson acquaintance Trevor Byrne, chairman of Pricer and Edward Brothman's Toronto-based Brinco Ltd. con-

glomerations. "The only people I know who are richer than him are baseball players." The fallon state does not want to talk much about what he has done since his failed coup attempt at RJR. He says he is a director of several companies, including American Express, the gift-edged New York City-based

financial services company run by his close friend James Robertson, and Power Corp. of Canada, the Montreal-based holding company controlled by Paul Desmarais. He mentions some business interests in the Rio East, but adds that he has had plenty of time for his favorite pastimes, along and golf. Clearly, the pace he is setting now is far slower than when he ran RJR Nabisco, which had 128,000 employees and sales of \$22.9 billion and placed 20th on *Fortune's* list of the largest U.S. industrial corporations in 1986.

Wall Street's infatuation with corporate takeovers—and the million-dollar dollars that could be made from them—put the spotlight on Johnson in October, 1986, when he launched the largest raid in U.S. corporate history. The buy-out was costly, he said at the time, because investors were disenchanted with the tobacco industry, which was under siege by U.S. health officials who say that it is the largest single cause of lung cancer in the United States. As a result, the RJR share price languished by below what he believed it was worth.

To his surprise, Johnson would soon find out just how undervalued RJR shares actually were. He opened the bidding with a \$60-a-share offer, worth about \$21.1 billion, when the shares were trading at about \$67 on the New York Stock Exchange. That brought other suitors into the race of the world's biggest takeover. Ultimately, Johnson lost out to a \$131-a-share, \$30-billion bid from Wall Street's renowned leveraged buy-out (LBO) specialist Henry Kravis, the head of Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts and Co. Then, Johnson lost his job.

Still, the reputation he has of the tobacco fight on Johnson's reputation. His opening bid for RJR was so much lower than the eventual winning bid that many observers subsequently labeled him a "bushy-headed" or "a corporate insider with presumably more information

about a company than the typical insider who tries to buy, at bargain prices, companies with undervalued shares. When financial reports revealed that under the terms of Johnson's opening bid his management team might have earned as much as \$1.1 billion after five years on an initial investment of just \$240 million, it proved too much even for Wall Street's cynical investment dealers. As Richard Thorelli, a

New York-based management consultant, worried about such deals at the time. "Managers have been known to hold company buy-outs. Records of dramatic turnarounds after an LBO time a troubling question: why were these managers unable to accomplish these turns before the LBO?"

Johnson's own reputation as a corporate party animal, already common knowledge within the industry, was widely publicized during the six-week takeover fight. He was a high flyer who liked to sleep late, indulged greatly inflated expense accounts and led an active social life with his second wife, Laurie, 38, whose former husband is a cover story about executives who marry young, often killed "trophy wives."

His extravagant perks, which included a fleet of corporate jets and a catalogue of supermodel athletes whom he ostentatiously kept on the company's payroll for advertising modeling purposes, were, all noted, seen at the *Gate*, which reported a blow-by-blow description of the takeover battle, including unsympathetic portraits of all the main players, especially Johnson.

Johnson says that the book is accurate when it chronicles the activities of the takeover fight, but that it is "pure Hollywood" when it describes his personal and professional background. Still, Johnson appears to be taking his company as a strike. Ned Wood, president of Markhamwood Properties Inc., a Toronto real estate company, and a friend of Johnson's since childhood, says that if Johnson is bothered by his vilification, he is not showing it. Said Wood: "He is one of the most positive people I have ever known. He does not like to be negative, he does not like to be down, so he is not."

Lately, Johnson has had more than just the fortune he courted in the RJR deal to buoy his spirits. Johnson's 28-year-old son, Brian, who has been at a coma following a terrible car crash 23 months ago, regained consciousness last month, and doctors are now hopeful that the young man's recovery will continue. RJR Nabisco chairman Charles Blight has speculated that it was Brian's accident, which happened just a few weeks before Johnson launched his bid for RJR, that triggered Johnson's decision to proceed with the buy-out. When *Barbarians* authors Bryan Burroughs and John Helyar, "In search and fight" against pessimists that Johnson might be doing the whole thing to fill the void caused by his son's accident.

Johnson, however, insists there was only one reason he launched his spectacular bid—concern about the impact of the company's potentially low share price on shareholders. "As though some observers have described the RJR Nabisco bid as 'capitalism gone mad,' Johnson maintains the deal was a good one for shareholders because it earned them all a healthy profit. Still, he says, talking to a group of investors at the Nabisco meeting, he said: "The shareholders were, he repeated it, once more. "The shareholders were. They did."

BRONIA DALGLISH

Business Notes

BEFORE PRINCE, ADAM

Finance Minister Michael Wilson told the Canadian Bankers Association that the government plans to introduce "in some form" legislation to amend the Bank Act, which would grant banks, trust companies and insurance companies more freedom to compete with one another. Analysts said that the Royal Bank of Canada forced Ottawa's hand by surmising in principle to be the Toronto-based institution's Treasury Inc. for an anticipated sale. Royal Bank spokesman James McKay said that the bank anticipated an end clause that it can use if the proposed legislation still prohibits bank ownership of trusts.

INFLATION, TRADE SURPLUS FALL

Canada's annual inflation rate dropped sharply to 4.5 per cent in May from 5 per cent in April, its lowest level since April of 1980. Statistics Canada said that the rate fell largely because federal tax increases on the consumption and price index in the 1989 federal budget are no longer having an impact on prices. Statistics Canada also reported that Canada's merchandise trade surplus declined to \$131 million in April from \$1.1 billion in March, prompting export revenues compared to that of Canada's dollar against the U.S. dollar. The high-inflation-rate policy is keeping Canada's dollar artificially high and pushing them out of foreign markets.

BANKRUPTCY SOAR

Personal bankruptcies jumped by 32 per cent in the first five months of the year over the same period in 1988, while business bankruptcies were up 23 per cent, according to the federal department of consumer and corporate affairs.

BANKS SUPPORT TRUMP

Donald Trump's bank creditors announced a tentative deal to lend the cash-strapped real estate magnate \$70 million. The New York City tycoon, who has \$1.2 billion in debt, including \$2 billion worth of outstanding bank loans, issued a total of \$20.9 million in interest payments on June 15 to holders of bonds issued on one of his three Atlantic City, N.J., casinos.

JAMES BAY REVIEW

Environment Canada has reached a deal with Quebec's environmental ministry to jointly review the next stage of the massive multi-billion-dollar James Bay hydroelectric project. The agreement calls for public hearings on the 2,500-megawatt Grand Rapids hydro dam, a plan of the project in northeastern Quebec that environmental and some native groups oppose.



Dmitri Shostakovich with his 1937 Master Stradivarius

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SWISS MADE

opposes free trade with Mexico because it believes jobs will be lost in Mexico industry, which pays its workers far less than comparable Canadian companies do.

They have the support of many Canadian business executives who argue that Ottawa should take a seat at the table in order to protect the competitive advantages that it was under the 18-century-old FTA. If the United States signs a separate deal with Mexico, those executives say that they may not be able to compete in the huge U.S. market. Said Laurent Therault, president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association: "If they pursue it without any political input from us, our interests won't be protected."

In the critical automobile parts manufacturing sector, for one, Mexican workers currently earn about \$1.60 to \$2 an hour, compared with the \$20 hourly wages paid there. Canadian counterpart Stephen Van Norden, president of the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada, which represents 280 companies employing 80,000 workers, says that Canada's more than \$10 billion in annual parts exports to the United States could be threatened if Ottawa does not act as the referee. Added Van Norden: "We don't want Mexico to have an advantage."

But Canadian concerns will likely go unheeded as the United States, where many powerful business executives support the initiative and see Mexico as more than a source of cheap labor. They view their neighbor as a potentially lucrative market of 80 million nearby consumers. Trade between the two countries already totals about \$60 billion annually, making Mexico the United States' third-largest trading partner, after Canada and Japan. For Bush, the initiative also offers an opportunity to silence his critics who thrive on opposition to the continued flow of illegal immigrants.

Salinas's bid to enhance U.S.-Mexican trade is the latest in a series of radical steps that he has taken to revive his nation's economy. Since he took office in December, 1988, the Harvard-educated economist has lowered export duties, lifted many restrictions on foreign ownership, reduced or eliminated subsidies on food and other consumer products, and privatized hundreds of money-losing state enterprises, including the country's two national airlines. Now, Salinas says that he hopes free trade will attract even more badly needed foreign investment.

Foreign negotiations between the two sides are certain to be lengthy and complex. In a joint statement, Bush and Salinas acknowledged that it could take more than three years to conclude an agreement. As well, before formal talks begin, likely in December, Bush administration officials say that they would like to see further reforms in Mexico, in particular, they want Mexico to reduce its agricultural tariffs and loosen restrictions on foreign investment in certain key sectors.

For the moment, Canadian officials appear to be content to watch the U.S.-Mexican negotiations from the sidelines. After his meeting with Serra last week, Crosbie told Markham's that

both the United States and Mexico would willingly accept Canada's involvement, but that the government has no plans to enter into the negotiations because Canada's trade with Mexico is so small. Last year, exports from Mexico into Canada totalled just \$3.7 billion, while exports to Mexico amounted to \$600 million, making it Canada's 17th-largest foreign market.

But other trade experts are urging Canada to become involved now, because they say that any U.S.-Mexico deal could eventually have a huge impact on Canada. Said Gottlieb, now a consultant with the Toronto law firm Stikeman

Bliss: "If the Mexican economy really starts to take off, the economic muscle will give it political weight. If we enter into a unilateral deal, Mexico and Canada together can be a counterweight to the United States." Regardless of what Ottawa decides to do, Canadian proponents and opponents of a North American common market agree that Canadians too will have to make profound and painful choices as a result of the U.S.-Mexico initiative.

BARRBARA WICKHAM'S wife LUCY CONGER is Mexico City. AILEEN MACDONALD is in Washington and MICHAEL MAURSSON is in Toronto.

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Reveries difficulties begin when patients can no longer speak for themselves

BEHAVIOR

The right to die

A woman's suicide renews an old debate

Just Adams' last words were "Thank you, thank you." She addressed them to Dr. Jack Kevorkian on the afternoon of June 4, in the lay-up on a stretcher bed at the doctor's modest 1968 Volkswagen van, which was parked in a municipal campground outside Detroit. The 54-year-old Adams, a Portland, Ore., resident and diagnosed sufferer of Alzheimer's disease, was connected retroactively to a device that the doctor had assembled. Describing Adams' death last week, Kevorkian said that he told her to "have a good trip." Then, Adams pushed a button and activated a motor that jugged a powerful barbiturate and deadly potassium chloride into her bloodstream. Within seconds, said Kevorkian, the woman died of a massive heart attack. Adams' death reignited a long-standing debate in North America, and throughout much of the world, over euthanasia and the right of terminally ill individuals to end their own lives.

While Michigan law enforcement officials debated whether they could charge 69-year-old Kevorkian with a criminal offense, American rights-to-die activists praised his actions. The 34,000-member Euthanasia, Not-Suicide Headlock Society advocates doctor-assisted suicide for the terminally ill, and several affiliated organizations are struggling to have laws passed to legalize the practice in four states. But the Ottawa-based Canadian Medical Association (CMA) and the Chicago-based American Medical Association (AMA), the largest profes-

sional organizations representing doctors in the two countries, both firmly oppose active euthanasia or doctor-assisted suicide. Said Dr. John King, chairman of the AMA's board of trustees: "Under no circumstances should a physician intentionally cause death."

Despite this, both associations permit acts of passive euthanasia—the withdrawal of life-sustaining medication or devices when a patient is considered to be permanently unconscious and beyond recovery. Since King, the CMA's director of ethics and legal affairs, said that the association's policy, adopted in 2007, applies essentially to patients who have suffered severe and irreversible brain damage as a result of head trauma or drug overdoses, or to patients in the advanced stages of debilitating diseases such as cancer. Since 1984, the CMA has advocated a so-called do-not-resuscitate policy, which applies to terminally ill patients who either reject attacks Kevorkian said that doctors sometimes issue such orders when a patient is dying from another disease, such as cancer, and has no chance of recovering. To resuscitate these patients only prolongs the dying process, he said.

Normally, doctors withhold treatment only

after consulting a patient's loved one or if they are following wishes that the patient expressed while conscious and mentally competent. King admitted that Canadian doctors sometimes reserve life-support devices without the consent of the family if there is a shortage of such equipment. Doctors only take such actions when forced to choose between a terminally ill patient who is near death and a patient who has some chance of recovering. Said King: "Where we are dealing with a permanent vegetative state, most of the time it is inappropriate to continue treatment."

Withdrawing medical treatment could become a much more complex issue in the United States when the Supreme Court issues a ruling in the Nancy Cruzan case. The 24-year-old Missouri woman has insisted to white state doctors call a "permanent vegetative state" since she was involved in a car accident in 1983. Five years later, a Missouri circuit court judge gave Cruzan's parents permission to remove the surgically implanted tube that provides her with food and fluids. But the case escalated, and the Missouri Supreme Court overturned the circuit court decision in November, 1986. The Cruzan family appealed to the Supreme Court, which agreed last July to hear a right-to-die case for the first time. Many observers predict that, if the high court rules in favor of the state of Missouri, that would allow other states to pass laws prohibiting the withdrawal of medical treatment for the terminally ill.

Still, when a competent patient can express his wishes, doctors in Canada and the United States must listen, even when the patient desires to avoid treatment. By the end of last year, almost 40 American states had passed natural-death laws that allow individuals to prepare so-called living wills. These documents are generally drafted by lawyers and signed by witnesses. Such a document can state that a person does not want to be kept alive by breathing devices, artificial feeding or "basic" medical efforts if they are unable to recover from the extreme physical or mental disability caused by an illness or accident.

In Canada, doctors complain that living wills are often vague or poorly drafted, according to King. As a result, physicians frequently consult family members or obtain legal advice before deciding whether to advance to a living will. Furthermore, no Canadian province has adopted legislation that would give such documents legal standing. But King and others point out that Canadian court decisions have established that doctors must abide by the wishes of a patient who is capable of making medical treatment. Despite Sonnerby, director of the McGill Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law in Montreal, said that "what has become clear over the past five years is particularly, a very strong recognition that competent adults



King: deeply rooted taboo

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have the right to decide what treatment they want."

The difficulties begin when doctors treat patients who can no longer speak for themselves. Dr. Billie Mount, who specializes in the treatment of terminally ill cancer patients at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, said that in many cases physicians first decide whether such devices as respirators sustain life or merely prolong dying. He said doctors face a similar choice when a terminally ill patient contracts an illness like pneumonia, which could result in a cougher or less painful death if it were left untreated. Said Mount: "Where there is no reasonable expectation of regaining quality of life, I would find it difficult to prolong suffering needlessly."

Many physicians reject what they view as aggressive treatment of terminal illness through the use of life-sustaining devices. Dr. Roy Fisher, head of the 500-bed extraordinary department at Toronto's Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre, said that his primary objective when treating the terminally ill is to relieve suffering by administering medication. He said that increasing the patient's pain and discomfort is the best compromise possibility. Doing nothing would be unacceptable, he said, while the use of artificial breathing or feeding devices may prolong dying and increase an individual's suffering.

Still, some right-to-die activists say that the medical profession's attempts to minimize suffering ignore the patient's right to a quick and dignified death. Derek Humphry, executive director of the Hemlock Society, said that he founded the organization 15 years ago in order to promote public awareness and acceptance of euthanasia. He said that every individual who is terminally ill should have the legal right to end his life either in his home or at a local hospital, with the help of non-operative doctor Humphry predicted that active euthanasia will be a standard part of American medicine within a decade. He contends that the practice would alleviate the suffering of thousands hopelessly ill people like Janet Adams. Said Humphry: "It is irrelevant what she was forced to do by antique laws and our head-in-the-sand medical establishment."

But Kerevanich insists that Adams was calm and content in the days leading up to her death. He said that Adams, 45, and her husband, Bill, had been moved into Detroit on June 2 after a nightmare stay at a Minneapolis, and the love of their life than dinner that evening at a seafood restaurant in suburban Detroit. Kerevanich said that Janet Adams could still play tennis, but could no longer read books or play cards. "I can imagine her mental capabilities were deteriorating. He said that Adams told her husband and tried to stay at their hotel in a Detroit suburb other than to be present at her death: "She was a very strong woman," said Kerevanich. "She kept us all happy prior to her death." But while she was in a peaceful state, he said, her problems, Janet Adams triggered a new round of debate about a deeply rooted taboo.



Clearing up in Moose Lake, B.C.: melting snow and unusually heavy rain

ENVIRONMENT

Troubled waters

Floods and mud slides wreak havoc in the West

Billant southeast shattered off the swiftness lakes and rivers of southwestern British Columbia's Okanagan Valley last week. In parts dated through the frost-growing and recent areas, swiftness and volleyball players were out in force. After a record rainfall of 12.4 inches in one storm—more than twice the normal spring rainfall—and a week of devastating floods and mud slides that claimed at least eight lives, the storm season was a welcome reprieve. Still, the sudden arrival of fine weather brought with it the threat of further mudslides of the surrounding mountains. Emergency crews and volunteers filled roadways to build back the swollen waters of Okanagan Lake. And provincial government experts said that already-overburdened rivers and lakes in the area could not accommodate a further rapid melt and runoff.

The problems triggered by unusually heavy rain in central and southwestern British Columbia were shared last week by the residents of Peace River, Alta., where more than 200 people were evacuated from their homes 400 km northwest of Edmonton. They were forced to flee after the Peace River, swollen by several inches of rain in less than three days, flooded low-lying areas near the town. Naturally, the Peace River lives up to its name as it carries

106,900 cubic feet of water per second. Last week, 641,590 cubic feet of water per second churned past the town of Peace River.

In British Columbia, the floodwater last week left a trail of death and destruction, with damage estimated at \$10 million. At week's end, rescue workers found the body of Elaine Peacock, 67, and the rubble of her home near Kaledonia. A massive mud slide that destroyed the two-story structure also took the lives of her husband, Charles, 70, and daughter, Janet, 35. Earlier in the week, last members of a two-person crew died and another four were rescued after they were played off a washed-out wooden bridge onto flood-swollen George Creek, 40 km southeast of Peace River. Mud slides also claimed the life of one man near Vancouver, 110 km north of Kamloops, and temporarily blocked roads and highways throughout the region.

After touring the flooded areas by helicopter, Premier William Vander Zalm said that his government would provide financial compensation for the flood victims. Meanwhile, some Okanagan Lake residents said that they feared that further flood damage could result if melting snow caused Okanagan Lake to overflow and flood the communities along its shores.

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IT JUST FEELS RIGHT



A new cut from an old cloth

BY GEORGE BAIN

The Duke of Wellington seems even to me an odd bird to drag into any consideration of the rebirth of the Toronto newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. Given that the only comment on the media attributed to him is the retort: "Pubs and be damned," is a publisher demoting look money to keep out of print mention of the duke's dalliance with a high-priest card, that scarcely qualifies him as an expert. But he did in his military duties make a commitment to perusing the nature of communications that would be cited now as conventional wisdom.

In Portugal, in 1835, as commander of forces against Napoleon's brother Francisco War, he sent a sharp note to one of his field commanders: "I request you," he said, "to write your communications, notwithstanding that you may think it proper to send an officer; as the mode of writing a communication makes a difference in the meaning." That last bit about the method affecting the meaning has a distinctly modern ring: Marshall McLuhan could have said it and given how lively he scattered his aphorisms, may have. Certainly, media professionals have said things very much like it—Marshall Brown, for one, the former editor of *The Sunday Times* in England, and author of a book called *Newspaper Design*.

Brown, discussing the function of design, dismissed the notion of it as packaging. Rather, he said, it was part of the goods. Then, in tune with Wellington's dictum, he said "What makes the *Daily News* (the New York City tabloid) the *Daily News* is not just the stories and pictures. If those content were presented on a broadcast (New York Times format), dressed in Cheltenham doublet (or a different style), it would no longer be the *Daily News*. The design cannot be separated from the product."

That brings us, coincidentally, to *The Globe and Mail* and its new look, assumed on June 18. Except that the persons in show, newspapers involve less anecdotal. A new model is introduced. Year by year, changes are made,

Whatever else may be said of The Globe's new dress—more to the good than bad—traces of a pop influence are hard to find

Eventually the concept becomes susceptible of further development and a new model follows. But in recent years, some newspapers have undergone conscious personality changes, which then are reflected in a new design. One such, the London, Ont., *Post Press*, long a staid, unexciting, small-conservative newspaper, has adopted more color, more graphics and more tightly written stories. The success of the splashy titling *The Toronto Star* has been an influence. A larger one has been USA Today, television on paper, all bright colors, short stories to short sentences made up of short words, and plentiful graphics to make any questionable subject superficially understandable on sight.

These have been twofold times at *The Globe and Mail*, especially since the early 1980s purge that removed editor-in-chief Norman Webster and managing editor Geoffrey Stevens from their posts, and was shortly to be followed by disclosure of a memorandum from publisher Roy McCreery defying changes he wanted made, and the troubling disappearance of some similar bylines. A cheaper paper, to assert it more directly, even though, towards bankruptcy, became a subject of speculation in the newsroom and bureau. The role-

ago consequently was looked at for signs it might reveal a change in news values.

Whatever else may be said of *The Globe and Mail's* new dress—more to the good than to the bad, to my mind—traces of a design-market, pop influence are hard to find. The first few issues, laid out alongside 20 other Canadian, American and English newspapers, reveal a style more English than North American. Given that the English examples include *The Sunday Times*, *The Times*, the *Sunday and Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Correspondent*, *The Independent* and the *Observer*, that is no mean style to emulate.

A rebirth of the paper was something for which William Thomson, *The Globe and Mail's* new editor-in-chief, wanted McCreery's approval before he took the job. Among other things, he thought the paper needed a more coherent presentation and clearer identification of subject matter—local, national, international news, arts, sports, comment. To that end, one change has been to shift the editorial pages, which previously intervened as pages 6 and 7, to the back of the news section. The last page of that section now constitutes, in effect, a second front page from which the commentary begins and news news.

The new design was carried out by Tony Sutton, British-born, but employed for 14 years in newspaper and magazine design in South Africa, where Thomson recruited him. His design makes a first long-run page, now with one leading type throughout, varying only in size, more uniformity of column widths in that most of the paper is composed of six columns pages and the elimination of the old format's heavy, horizontal, white-on-black reserve blocks for subheads in tables and some columns before. All pictures are improved by displaying them larger and more closely cropped, still, not all secondary pictures, even on page 1, are well chosen.

So far, the new design succeeds better on some inside pages than on front, particularly in the editorial section, where page 2 is an early issue has been as excellent news display page. If there is a fault on page 1, it may lie in the sameplace. *The Globe and Mail*, which somehow looks like a lot that is a new too small for the screen. What is not apparent to the eye, but may become an actual problem, is that the new design uses secondary headings on many stories, and so-called provides subheads heading on most commentaries. Those help give the new paper a distinctive look. The new headings, given in their years, are clean styled and easier to write than the old, but not so much as to compensate for a new doubling of the number of words that need to be written. The consequence danger is that the reading of the content of stories for factual errors, spelling errors, grammatical errors, and misstatements of responsibility will suffer. Even before the change, copy editing was not one of *The Globe and Mail's* strong suits. It would not make great sense to adopt a new design intended to carry on as at quiet authority and quality because of not enough people to make it work.

ALTER EGO

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Scene from *Miss Saigon*: Melding individual talents into seamless productions

THEATRE

Dramatic teamwork

Loyal actors make the Shaw Festival shine

When Shaw Festival veteran Tony van Bridge talks about the difficulties of acting with a theatre company, his thoughts turn inexorably to music. "Performing in an ensemble should be like playing in a symphony orchestra," the portly, amiable van Bridge, 71, said recently in the annual festival opened for its 39th season. "You have to listen to the whole piece and not just your own entrance. On the other hand," he added, "you wouldn't want an actor without ego. Actors are always by nature—they'd put on a pretty good show if they weren't." Blending individual talents into a seamless performance has become something of a specialty at Shaw, located in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont., 50 km north of Toronto. Said Barry McCricker, another of its leading actors, "If there is a star here, it is the play we put on stage." At the start of the current season, five shows are vying for stardom, including outstanding productions of George Bernard Shaw's *Widowhood* and Arthur Pinero's *Delaney of the Ritz*.

All of the current plays feature actors who have appeared at Shaw for several years. While the rival Stratford Festival has suffered a heavy turnover of performers, the Shaw com-

pany has remained remarkably stable. For the 1990 season—which opened on May 23 and runs until Oct. 22—only one new actor has arrived, joining 54 veterans. Van Bridge credits artistic director Christopher Newton, now in his 11th year at the helm, with keeping the company together. "Even when an actor takes a year or two off, Christopher makes sure his name still appears in the program," said van Bridge, who has spent 30 seasons at Shaw. "That's a very clever idea that works. It makes people feel they belong, and stage any violent dislocation of what we've created here."

Such stability has been a great help in weathering the current hard times at Shaw, where a disastrous 1989 box office has resulted in a deficit of \$1.1 million—and, according to Newton, led him to propose a more of the British comedies, which have a proven ability to draw audiences. Having a stable company has also allowed the theatre to develop its distinctive character. "We have mastered the Stratford style of Shaw," the silver-haired artistic director, 54, told McCricker. "But we have had to rediscover how to act some of the other plays of the period—the highly structured, so-called well-made plays by writers like Pinter and J.B. Priestley." According to Newton, such works require a much broader

attack than most contemporary actors are used to. "We have had to resurrect an old style of acting," he said. "It's richer louder and faster than the more subtle approach of today. Fortunately, some of our older, British-trained members have remembered how to do it."

Van Bridge is such a performer, and in the current season he directs and acts in one of the "well-made" plays, Priestley's farcical *When We Arrive Tomorrow*. The actor, who plays a drunken photographer in the comedy, taps tremendous stress on his craft, the consciously applied techniques of holding an audience. "You have to leave a part of yourself out, so you can perform and watch at the same time," he said. "The old idea of losing yourself in the role is one of the most dangerous ideas in the world."

Another festival veteran, Jennifer Phipps, agrees that technique is important. But she also insists that luck can play a crucial role. "Sometimes, there's a god on stage with us," said the red-haired, middle-aged Phipps, who is perhaps as much more nervous and self-doubting than the confident characters she plays in *Miss Saigon* and Enid Blyton's 1934 thriller, *Night Must Fall*. Added the actress, who has worked at Shaw for 10 seasons: "You can feel it. It's like cream. It just flows." And then there are the unlucky times, which Phipps sometimes blames on the ghost of an actor she claims haunts the festival's main stage. "I think he likes to trick people," she said. "He's lashed me twice this year. I've actually fallen down."

But, gods and ghosts aside, the festival may simply be constant, hard work. In the middle of opening week, with its rain-soaked and glorifying games, rehearsals continued as usual for the *Cole Porter* musical *Pygmalion*. Ermet opened on July 6. In a grim, windowless community hall, six male actors and a single woman—magus Rosalind Keston—practised out a song-and-dance routine called *Solomon*. It all looked and sounded highly polished. But choreographer Bob Anusko—a trim, bearded-looking man in a tight T-shirt—clapped his hands, stopping everyone cold. "No, no, Peter, Bill, don't flip steps to the left," he told them, demonstrating how he wanted them to move. It was the 11th time in 30 minutes he had halted the routine. Someone cracked a joke. The group started again. Tired bodies resumed their postures. There was something upmarket about the constant repetition, and something that spoke of a quiet, boundless dedication. It is here, at the Shaw Festival, magic is made.

The most easily satisfying of the current productions is Newton's version of Shaw's *Miss Saigon*. Leslie Franklin's impressive set looks like a jungle gym for T-shirts, with its forest of hanging vines and exotic plants. But it



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THEATRE

is exactly the right background for Shaw's debate between the harmonious longings of youth and the tangled intricacies of age. MacGregor is rivalling as Mr. Tarleton, the wealthy underwear merchant who frequently appears more lively than his children. When he draws himself up and declares, "There's no such thing as decay in a vital man," MacGregor gives the line such potent physical conviction that it seems true. And Pappas plays his wife, Mrs. Tarleton, with such warmth and single skill, she seems the very soul of loving motherhood.

Any production featuring William Hutt would seem to be a guaranteed success. The former star of the Stratford Festival—he switched to Shaw a year ago—is a superb technician who can achieve impressive effects with the subtlest understatement. But he seems too cool and restrained for the role of the blustering, womanizing Lince in John Audubon's 1951 black comedy, *The World of Our Fathers*. That is far more effective as the person Sir William Gower in *Twelfth of the Month*, a play that has been a favorite for 93 years because it so warmly portrays the life of the theatre. A celebrated young London actress, Rose Troloway (Claire Stewart), must choose between a safe but dull marriage to Gower's nephew, Arthur, and the risks of the stage. The play has a Dickensian wealth of character, which Newton's cast conveys with great liveliness and affection.

A harsher spirit prevails in *When We Are Married*, a 1935 comedy starring middle-class respectability. Set in 1906, it opens as three well-to-do couples gather to celebrate their wedding anniversaries. They are the sort of people who uphold the local church organist because he has been seen courting young women. But an unexpected event blows all of their well-earned certainties to bits. As detailed as it might sound, the play works because it offers such a trenchant picture of hypocrisy. Among a strong cast, van Brugh's desolate Henry and Sherry Smith's acid-tongued maid, Ruby, serve up some particularly keen exchanges on the subject of sex-morality.

Madrigal is at the heart of *Night Must Fall*, which combines old-fashioned plotting with some up-to-date truths about psychopathic killers. Peter Kraatz is a hypnotic presence as the cold-blooded Danny, whose charm is nothing but a mask to his own emptiness. And Sherry Smith enters a convincing Olivia Greyson, the young woman who insists the truth about Danny—and falls in love with his asphyx.

The plays opening later this season mostly reflect Newton's need to reverse last year's financial losses. The artistic director said that he would have liked to program some groundbreaking European drama, but he has opted instead for less risky fare, such as Noel Coward's *Present Laughter* and Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* and *Pillars of the Community*. These choices make up the sort of payroll that Shaw Festival actors have excelled at for years. When it comes to delivering robust, intelligent comedy, they have few peers.

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FILMS

Boyhood dreams

A Winnipeg film-maker remembers his roots

THE LAST WINTER
Directed by Aaron Kim Johnson

It is the little Canadian movie that could. Made in rural Manitoba for just \$3 million, *The Last Winter* offers a refreshing reverse view of the heart of Hollywood's current age: scores. A gentle and sensitive coming-of-age story, it won't hit the top gross but March at the eighth annual International Youth Film Festival in Lausanne, France.

The movie—which recently opened in Toronto and is due to be released in other Canadian cities during the summer—has already captured the hearts of Manitobans. It is still playing in Winnipeg after more than four months. And during its opening week at Brandon, near the prairie frontier where it was filmed, *The Last Winter* out-crashed Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles at the box office.

The Last Winter is a classic family-entertainment tale, the kind that Hollywood has forgotten how to make. It is pleasantly heart of the high-tech, gimmickery usually required to lure children into the theatre. Instead, it offers a generative stock of rural nostalgia: a three-dog named Duchesne that barks at cars, a trophy lover named Silver, boys who practice hockey with sticks of cow dung, parents who have a cozy time at the curling rink, and a live-in grandma. The story's elements are as warm and familiar as an old rockle. But the movie—a semi-autobiographical tale written and directed by Winnipeg's Kim Johnson—is well-noted, subtly photographed and infused with an unmistakable sense of authenticity.

Set in a Manitoba town in the early 1960s, the story focuses on a 10-year-old boy named Will. Portrayed with convincing power by Vancouver actor Joshua Murray, he lives in a Boy's Own world of songwriting and nature. He loves his dog and his horse—and a scottish poppy here for his home Katie. He also seems to have inherited a musical dream from Grampa Jack (Gerrard Parkes), who shares his bed-room. Will keeps burning records of a large white street

galloping across the prairie. Grampa Jack tells him that, since boyhood, he has been haunted by a white horse named Winter, who bobbed from a barn fire 60 years earlier—"as if he was trying to run out of his burning hole."

Meanwhile, Will's father, Russ (David Perry), is planning to uproot the family so that he can take a job in the city. Will stubbornly insists, saying, "All I ever want is what I have. But, in a coming-of-age story, inevitability is



Murray (left), Parkes: script full of canine wisdom

ways was *The Last Winter*'s script is full of canine wisdom, with such lines as "a man won't amount to a hill of beans if he can't dream." And Grampa Jack talks about "the air breaking up so still you have to bite a piece off and chew it before you can breathe." But, for all the rustic clichés, *The Last Winter* rings true—its sentiments are not saccharine, but pure maple sugar. And in a summer when *Back to the Future* sets the big-screen agenda with its counter-bank world of synthetic nostalgia, a flashback to the childhood of a small boy growing up in the snows of a Manitoba winter seems oddly poetic.

BRIAN B. JOHNSON

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PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

SHOULD THE TWO COUNTRIES BECOME ONE?



A year and a half ago, on Jan. 1, 1989, Canada and the United States reinforced a neighborly relationship that had flourished for 175 years, since the end of the 1812-1814 border war. The two governments created the largest two-nation trading partnership in history under the Free Trade Agreement.

That action gave greater commercial substance to transborder bonds, which, despite differences and the disparate size of the two nations, grew strong in the sharing of many social and political values, economic and military aims, transborder migra-

tion and travel, even co-entertainment and sports. Now, with the world in the grip of revolutionary change, the North American alliance is facing new tests and opportunities.

The report that follows, the second annual *Maclean's Portrait of Two Nations*, provides insights on continent-wide attitudes and opinions as North Americans con-

front the challenge of global change. It includes responses to a question raised with increasing frequency on both sides of the border: do Canadians and Americans want to meet that challenge, and a new millennium, as one nation?

PHOTO: GARY WILSON

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

DEFINING A PARTNERSHIP

EACH NATION IS FACING AN IDENTITY CRISIS

BY MARCI McDONALD

It has been, as Charles Dickens might have seen it, the best of times and the worst of times. *Acid* is the title of two countries that share the continent as each other's closest allies and largest trading partners, nothing illustrated that paradox more starkly than the night in late May when a striking blizzard, perched in the public gallery of Washington's House of Representatives, watched a private suicide unfold.

For 38 years, Jolide Harley, cofounder of the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain, had lobbied Congress for action against the deadly sulphurous fumes that American public utilities have been spewing into the air, killing lakes and wildlife on both sides of the border. And as the once bitterly divided House voted 401 to 21 to approve a sweeping revision of the Clean Air Act—proving the way for a final acid-rain bill by this fall—the last standing bloc's toter decade-old anger seemed to have vanished. But, emerging from the Capitol, Harley was shocked to find her American environmental friends offering not congratulations but condolences. "All they wanted to talk about was the

disintegration of Canada," she said. "They kept saying how sorry they were that our country was coming apart at the seams, as if somehow there had been a death in the family."

Indeed at a time when the bilateral climate has seldom been better—when Washington appears to be on the brink of defining the explosive issue of acid rain with a U.S. president, has suddenly shown an unusual solicitude for his Canadian counterpart—Ottawa's constitutional crisis has not only eclipsed any potential rejoicing. It has also overshadowed virtually every other cross-border consideration, including mounting Canadian hostility to last year's contentious Free Trade Agreement.

So preoccupied have Canadians become with their own vitriolic Meech Lake debate that one veteran bilateral observer warns that they may be missing the boat in negotiating yet merely with Washington, but with a heavier weight of daily shifting power blocks. Laurence Lamont, director of Canadian affairs for the New York City-based American Society, observed, "At a time when Americans are really looking for some help to reposition themselves in a new North American trading line, it is clear that we are going to have to wait for Canadians to work

out their own thorny internal problems."

That prospect is all the more unsettling to Canadians whose overriding obsession—used as former prime minister Lester Pearson once pointed out, their strongest unifying force—has long been their ambivalent relationship to the colonies to the south. But at a time when the Cold War has crumbled in a heap of Berlin rubble and the world has at times seemed as much lost forever, perhaps it ought to come as no surprise that the old cliché of Canadian relations should be coming unstuck.

As Canadians have turned inward, so have Americans been haunted by the ghost of separatism just as Americans seemed shocked to discover Canada's passions breaking out in what writer Robertson Davies once termed "America's attic." In Capitol Hill to the California coast, Canadian Ambassador Derek Burney reports, the dominant U.S. reaction is pessimism. "They say, 'You guys have got a great thing going for you up there. What are you doing?' They are not used to seeing us as a country with problems like Unileverian." Agreed Myles Kishish, a former U.S. ambassador of state for southern affairs. "Americans take Canada by granted partly because it is seen as a stable,

middle-of-the-road, rather plodding country. The fact that something that serious is going on up there seems entirely out of character."

For their part, Canadians who have spent most of their 123-year history lamenting Washington's long neglect find that they have suddenly caught its eye—but not quite in the way intended. When conservative columnist Patrick Buchanan magisterially April that if Canada split up, "America could pick up the pieces," he provided howls of protest north of the border. But once the contrary message of a columnist in *The Arizona Republic* was more reassuring. "There is talk on both sides of the border that some of the bits and pieces might apply for statehood," wrote Richard Lennett. "Perdim me, but who wants them?"

Still, at a time when the unfathomable has become a routine subject in the Meech Lake debate, such conjectures offer a glimpse—and increasingly pessimistic—Canadian fear. And nationalists now see confirmation that the trade deal was the first step in a darker plot that will swallow Canada as well as Mexico into a monolithic new *Patria America*. In fact, analysts show that free trade's intended access to American markets is one of the chief factors that has emboldened the Quebec business community to challenge the possibility of independence. And transmitted by the mounting toll of plants closed and jobs lost upon the accord, a growing number of Canadians blame it for the glum resignation that now grips the fragmented nation. Said television host Adrienne Clarkson, a free trade opponent, "Our country is feeling that it doesn't have a future anymore."

Declaring that he would "consciously sit on the sidelines" while Canadians sorted out their domestic dispute, President George Bush has mirrored decades of official U.S. pronouncements protesting that all the Americans want is a strong and united neighbor to the

north. In fact, as Quebec journalist Jean-François Leduc has shown in his study *Qu'est-ce de l'Éagle* (Is the Eye of the Eagle), the U.S. government appears to have long felt the same in private. Despite Quebec premier René Lévesque's attempts to woo Washington in his time, U.S. authorities concurred on his government's self-importance in a 1977 state department report that "the first flash of Quebec independence" could result in "an increase in anti-U.S. feelings as a means to preserve a separate Canadian identity."

But just as anxious to them was the possibility of Ottawa's increased dependence abroad. Three days, analysts note that with Cold War notions defunct and even NATO's existence called into question, a splintered Canada might pose less of a threat to U.S. national security interests than ever before. But, as Leduc points out, "Washington gains a great deal from a united Canada, even in this post-Cold War era. As a junior partner in international fora, Canada is the best U.S. cheerleader."

Indeed, transfixed by their constitutional soul-searching, many Canadians forget that Americans too are contemplating a national identity crisis—forced to redefine their role as a superpower in the aftermath of events speeding beyond their grasp. All around them, as ancient walls have crumbled to reveal the raging brush fire of nationalism, the global landscape has unraveled. In fact, as Canadians negotiate the same conflicting tides of globalism and regionalism now washing over the world—sublated both by provincial imperatives and the pull of a conceptual disunity—they may find their neighbors to the south looking to them to help chart the still uncharted future. If so, the question remains: can Canadians waken from their slumber to meet that challenge, leaving their best selves more alert to the need to look outward again?

Illustration: David



PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

PARTNERS WITH
MIXED OPINIONS

SOME WOULD ERASE THE BORDER

The movies, the fast-food restaurants, even many of the brand names on grocery store shelves were familiar. But when Mully TD last moved to small-town Ontario from Dallas four years ago, she quickly discovered that the obvious similarities between American and Canadian life masked an array of important differences. "It thought Canada would be just like America," says Elliott, 30, a professional-nurse car driver who teaches at a nursing school just outside Belleville, Ont. "It took me a while to come to grips with the fact that the two countries are extremely different." Elliott now spends six months a year in Canada, alternating each winter to Dallas. And although she enjoys Canada—"everything seems better here, and people care more about what goes on around them"—she believes she still prefers the American way of life. "In the States, you can go for Chinese food at two in the morning or get a drink delivered to your door. Here, people see you and laugh—they're prepared to wait for what they want. I have a lot of trouble dealing with that."

The contrast between Elliott's personal impressions of Canada and her husband's experiences is mirrored in the differing views of

American and Canadian respondents to the second annual *Two Nations* poll. Sixty-two per cent of Americans surveyed describe citizens of the two countries as either "essentially the same" or "nearly the same but with some small differences." By contrast, only 48 per cent of Canadians agree with either of those descriptions. At the same time, although an overwhelming majority of poll respondents in Canada oppose the notion of the two populations merging as one country, a significant minority—more than one in six—favors that idea.

On the question of transborder similarity, there has been a shift in the attitudes of Canadian respondents since the first *Two Nations* poll. A year ago, 60 per cent of Canadians said that Americans and Canadians were similar or essentially identical. Now, the figure has grown to 55 per cent. "There is no question that Canadians' sense of differences has grown over the past 12 months," says Allen Gregg, chairman of Toronto's Demos Research Ltd. Gregg adds that the change appears to reflect Canadian nationalist sentiments towards the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, a deal that 87 per cent of Canadian



Prime Minister Mulroney and President Bush opening the 1990 Toronto baseball season; transborder traffic on Niagara's Rainbow Bridge opposes neighbors.

respondents now say has hurt their country economically since it came into force in January, 1989. "It suggests that, in terms of understanding, the two countries have grown further apart," and Gregg. "As Americans move a little closer, Canadians are pushing back and saying, 'No, you stay away.'"

That sense of distinctiveness among Canadians appears to have increased at a time when some analysts have begun to predict the eventual

destruction of Canada—and the absorption of all or part of it by the United States. American conservative columnist Patrick Buchanan, for one, wrote recently that Canada "may be sold to break apart" as a result of tensions aroused over proposed changes to Canada's Constitution in the controversial Meech Lake package

of amendments. He added, "There is nothing wrong with Americans desiring of a capable ally, but by the year 2000, encompassing the Maritime and western provinces of Canada [and the Yukon and Northwest Territories all the way to the Pole]"

In fact, the poll suggests that Canadians

value their independence and overwhelmingly reject the concept of North American political union. Eighty-one per cent told Demos's researchers that they oppose or strongly oppose "Canada and the United States becoming one country." Against the majority trend, 18 per cent are in favor, with the greatest regional strength for a merger coming in Quebec. Overall, Canadian respondents are even less likely to favor the idea of their home province becoming part of the United States, with 14 per cent of congressional representatives and rights of American citizenship. "Seven per cent welcome the prospect of their province becoming a U.S. state. Albertans (23 per cent) are most likely to favor statehood for their province, followed by Newfoundlanders and Quebecers (20 per cent each). At the other end of the spectrum, only nine per cent of British Columbians advocate joining the United States."

The widespread opposition among Canadians to closer political ties with the United States appears to have in part been fueled by Canada's in a more peaceful, cosmopolitan country than its southern neighbor. Halifax economist Florence Trillo, one of scores of Canadians and Americans interviewed by Demos's correspondents to supplement the poll's findings, says that she expects yearly visits to her son, a hardware-store manager in Miami Beach, Fla., and finds Americans to be more outgoing than Canadians. "But there is a tremendous amount of poverty in the United States, and that racial situation is not good," Trillo adds. "And my son's medical bills are astronomically high." For William Caldwell, 61, a semi-retired plastic-products manufacturer in Barrie, Ont., who sold one of his companies to American buyers last year and has a winter home in Boca Raton, Fla., "Canadians and Americans are different." Opposed to the two countries merging, Caldwell says his opposition has nothing to do with race. "I think it's a matter of pride; that we want that we'll become part of the States, but we have chosen not to do so," he says. "Nationally it is a failure of mood."

Perhaps because American poll respondents



The *Two Nations* poll is based on telephone interviews between May 1 and 6 with 1,000 people in each country. Over 500 *Scholarship* Magazine's reporters and analysts administered more than 300 other Canadians and Americans in almost equal numbers, posing questions similar to those in the poll. Reporters Bill Leachler in Washington, Larry Black in New York City, Anne Greiner in Los Angeles, Tim Johnson in Miami, Ben Park in Griffin, Ill., Dan Shaw in Milwaukee, Matt, Hal Quinn in Vancouver, John Howe in Calgary, Peter Dwyer in Windsor-Detroit, David Hunter in Ottawa, George Perovic in Montreal, Glen Allen in Halifax and Anne Prosser in Toronto.

A QUESTION
OF LEADERS

But the relationship by the frequency of these meetings—up to 12 months—President George Bush and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney are closer than any two North American leaders since the personal friendship between Franklin D. Roosevelt and William Lyon Mackenzie King in the 1930s and 1940s. King's admiration of Roosevelt was widely shared in Canada, where people often his usually favored U.S. Democratic party leaders. Now, the *Two Nations* poll shows that the Republican Bush is more popular in Canada. In fact, by a wide

margin, Canadian poll respondents say that they would prefer to have Bush as their leader. Asked which man they would choose to lead their country, 49 per cent pick Bush, only 35 per cent Mulroney, with the rest uncommitted. In Quebec, his home province, Mulroney outpolls Bush by 44 per cent to 38 per cent. But the rest of Canada favors Bush by a close margin, 54 to 38. In Ontario, the pre-Bush margin is as even under 50 to 57.

Like Roosevelt and King, the present leaders are opposites in stature and personality. For many Canadians, the tall-mustered Bush seems more like their common notion of a typical Canadian than Mulroney, who often appears to fit their stereotype of a slick talking American politician. That view is reflected in some of the Mulroney's interviewees conducted

separately from the poll. Stefan Gardner, 35, a computer-software salesman from Ladner, B.C., who worked in Los Angeles, Boston and New York City in the early 1980s, and that he prefers Bush. "Mulroney is too much of a politician," he explained. "Bush is more your down-home, country type of guy, more relaxed."

Among American poll respondents, 61 per cent favor Bush and only eight per cent prefer the Canadian leader. Still, some American respondents by Mulroney's scheme. Mulroney's, for his part, says he is a New Yorker James Galtbrunck, 39, a Wall Street financial analyst and a carter who often competes in Canada. "I don't know enough about Mulroney to say. On the other hand, I know enough about Bush to say Mulroney."

see few differences between themselves and Canadians, Americans are more likely to favor political union. Forty-seven per cent of American respondents approve of the two countries becoming one, while 43 per cent are opposed and 10 per cent express no opinion. "Strictly at the moment, the United States and the United States for political union was not even higher," says Seymour Martin Lipset, a sociologist at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., and the author of a recent book on the differing values and contributions of the United States and Canada, *Civilization's Dilemma*. "The American perception of Canadians is generally that Canadians are not really foreigners—they are Americans who, for some puzzling reason, want to live in another house," adds Lipset.

Even so, there are signs that at least some Americans have had second thoughts about the desirability of political union. In last year's survey, respondents were asked whether Canada should become "the 51st state." At the time, 66 per cent of Americans welcomed the idea, and only 31 per cent were opposed. Says Greg Grogg: "It appears that there has been at least a modest enlargement in American attitudes towards Canada. Americans may regard us as smaller, but they are less enthusiastic about wanting to embrace us than before."

At the same time, some analysts suggest that the results could reflect an increasing awareness on the part of Americans of the difficulties that would arise in attempting to integrate the two countries. "When people talk about Canada becoming the 51st state, it implies that Canada would join the United States on our terms," says Charles Doran, director of

Canadian studies at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies in Washington. "But when Americans begin to reflect on Canada in a more realistic way, they realize that the two countries have different political institutions and different identities. In any across negotiations, there would be real problems and there might have to be concessions."

In Paris last month to Montreal with her husband in 1979. "Quebec stands a much better chance of cultural survival within Canada," she added.

For the most part, American respondents told the same view. Only 13 per cent say that the French-speaking majority in Quebec would be more likely to retain its language and cul-



New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa (seated center) 'chose'

ture on the part of the United States."

Although support for political union is higher in Quebec than in other regions of Canada, there is overwhelming agreement on both sides of the border that the French language and culture would stand a better chance of surviving if that province remained part of Canada. Nine out of 10 Canadians agree with that view, as do 82 per cent of Quebecers. "In the United States, there is pressure to conform," says Marie-Chantal Despins, 56, who was

born in Paris but moved to Montreal with her husband in 1979. "Quebec stands a much better chance of cultural survival within Canada," she added.

Despite that, French-Canadians both in and outside Quebec are more likely than their anglophone counterparts to show a willingness to become citizens of the United States, and to live and work there, if given the opportunity. Thirty-five per cent of francophones say that



Althoff: the obvious similarities masked an array of important differences

they would accept such an offer, compared with 28 per cent of English-speaking respondents. Naturally, while 36 per cent of all Canadians polled say that they would accept a chance to move to the United States, 58 per cent of Canadian men say that—almost double the proportion of women who do so (32 per cent).

But Canadians' willingness to move south is matched by Americans' interest in migrating north. Thirty per cent of American respondents say that they would live and work in Canada, and twice that Canadian respondents, if given the chance. The poll indicates that non-white Americans are slightly more likely than whites to respond affirmatively to that suggestion, perhaps because their perception of Cana-

da. "It has not been like that for us in Canada."

Despite those differences, the poll suggests that a remarkably high number of people on both sides of the border would happily exchange their citizenship for that of the other country. "It is the magic quality of North America," says Doran. "My guess is that if you asked Americans to give up their citizenship and go to any other country in the world, even Britain or Australia, that percentage would drop off very quickly." For his part, Althoff, who spent 18 months at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., says that he was surprised that as many American respondents reacted positively to the idea of becoming Canadians. "Normally, Americans cling to

their citizenship much more than we do," he says.

Neither do Americans appear to have many qualms about Canada as a place to do business. Respondents were asked to imagine a situation in which they came into a large sum of money that had to be invested abroad. Japan is the number 1 choice of those questioned in the United States, at 20 per cent, but Canada is close behind as a place to invest, with 15 per cent. Only 18 per cent chose Europe, says Grogg. "The notion that Canada is a basket case economically is certainly not overwhelmingly supported in the United States." Among Canadians, the United States and Japan tie as a place to invest money, at 34 per cent each, while 20 per cent chose Europe.

At the same time, Americans are much more likely than Canadians to think that they have had relatively little contact with their neighbors across the border. Althoff wanted whether they would prefer to deal socially or as a business relationship with someone from Canada or someone from the United States, 69 per cent of American respondents say that they have "really not had enough contact to tell." By a margin of more than two to one (18 per cent compared with 6 per cent), the remainder say that they would rather deal with an American than a Canadian.

In contrast, only 44 per cent of Canadians say that they have not had sufficient contact with Americans to state a preference. The rest are even more likely to choose a fellow citizen than an American. 59 per cent say that they would prefer to deal with a Canadian, while only 17 per cent would rather deal with someone from the United States. "I would be more likely to buy a used car in the United States than I would in Canada," says Delbert. "You have to come over here."

Of course, the prospect of doing business with an American star crossed feelings. "I think I would get better answers from an American, and I think they would be more likely to stick those sticks out a little bit, than a Canadian," says Peter Lane, 55, an electrical engineer in Selkirk, B.C., from San Diego five years ago and now a landed immigrant. "On the other hand, I would keep my eyes open a little bit more if I was working with an American. Canadians are not as aggressive as Americans in business ways."

Clearly, the perception of Canadians as less aggressive than Americans is vividly shared on both sides of the border. But it is evidence of the differences between the two societies that what one group of citizens appears to regard as a shortcoming, the other prizes as a virtue. It is possible that a significant minority of Canadians declare their readiness to bridge that gap and see their countrymen's political conservatism with the much larger neighbor. But, as a poll conducted during a time of widespread doubt, even optimism, over the capacity of Canada to survive, the responses of the great majority reflect a firm desire to maintain a cautious and different, if not slightly wary, life.

Amherstburg Edward Noy (left), David Burroughs (right)



SOVEREIGN ASSOCIATIONS

During Canada's debate over the Meech Lake constitutional amendments, some advocates argued that age itself makes the proposition unworkable. The document could provide the province of Quebec, the breakup of Canada and, possibly, the eventual absorption of the parts by the United States. Opponents of the Meech plan predicted much the same ultimate result if it did become law, arguing that Meech's decentralizing elements would lead to Canada's balkanization. But at Quebec—the province that the Meech deal was intended

to make a full partner within Confederation, and where it was widely argued against—gasp! questioned in the *Maclean's* Octopus poll was indeed that other Canadians to favor union with the United States.

The poll took place as a House of Commons constitutional committee, which drafted a proposed Meech compromise, completed its work during the first week of May. At that time, *Maclean's* reported a widespread sense in the province that Quebec's departure from Canada is inevitable.

In the poll, about one in four Quebecers (24 per cent), compared with 35 per cent of respondents in the rest of Canada, favored Canada and the United States becoming one significant element would prefer closer political or personal ties to the United States.

rest of Canada, supported the idea of their province accepting U.S. citizenship. A smaller majority of just over one in 10 Quebecers (12 per cent), compared with only five per cent of other Canadians, concluded that "the French-speaking majority in Quebec would stand a better chance of retaining its language and culture" as part of the United States than as part of Canada. Quebecers also were more likely than other Canadians, by a margin of 35 to 58 per cent, to say that they would accept an opportunity to live, work and become a citizen in the United States. And indications that more Quebecers espouse independence for their province, those responses suggest that significant minorities would prefer closer political or personal ties to the United States.

CONTINENTAL BOND

A BORDER MADE BY TREATIES AND HUMAN TIES

The world's longest border between two nations runs 5,800 km, or 3,603 miles in America. That includes the 2,475 km (1,538 miles) between Alaska and northwest Canada. More than two-fifths of the line (3,929 km, or 2,439 miles) traces landward through fresh water, mainly in the Great Lakes.

Five treaties across 120 years, from 1793 to 1903, defined the division of land and water between Canada and the United States. These divisions sometimes defused national ambitions, provoked disputes and prompted redrawing agreements into the 1980s. Differences that remain are at sea—in the Atlantic; Georges Bank fishing ground, which was divided by the International Court of Justice in 1984; at the Dixon Entrance, off the southern border between the Alaska Peninsula and British Columbia; and in the Arctic waters extension of the Alaska-Canada border.

The Joint International Boundary Commission, set up in 1909, is the border's caretaker, maintaining granite, concrete or metal markers at intervals of about three kilometers on land, and lighted buoys that divide Lake Erie's fishing grounds. The commission keeps border vista lines free of trees in a six-meter swath. It regulates construction within three meters of the border. But the development of transborder human ties blurs the boundaries.

The most southern land in Canada is Middle Island, a 56-acre rest that nudges the border in western Lake Erie, near Pelee Island. It sits on a rare southerly latitude—between the 41st and 42nd parallels—then Chicago, Detroit, Duxton and the bulk of 37 American states. It is Canadian under agreements, made as recently as the 1950s, that divided the Great Lakes. But Canada's southernmost piece of land is privately owned by an American. Cruise Morsk, the chief executive officer of General Automotives Corp. in Ann Arbor, Mich., bought it in the 1970s.

The drawing of the boundaries left some anomalies. Apart from cutting through communities, even living rooms, on its meandering course, the border in the West also often defies the lie of the land, and logic. Although Vancouver Island is all Canadian despite jutting below the 49th parallel of latitude defining most of the western border, the boundary does not budge for topography on the nearby mainland. There, it slices through the western tip of Puget Roberts, where some 550 permanent residents of a fragment of Washington state must travel through British Columbia to reach the rest of their state by land.

The most northerly land in the lower 49 states is an isolated offshoot of Minnesota bushland on Lake of the Woods. Known as the Northwest Angle, it is American property as a result of confusion over a map among border negotiators in the 18th and 19th centuries. It reaches 45 km above the 49th parallel and is accessible by land only through neighboring Manitoba.



After the two nations demilitarized land and inland-water borders in the decades following the 1912-1914 war, the lines became routes for transboundary ties between people and businesses, both legal and illegal. Ease of transit encouraged bootlegging from Canada during the U.S. Prohibition years (1920-1933). More recently, Canada has been used as a conduit for smuggling narcotics from overseas to Americans. But the east border's 148 odd official crossing points have also nourished friendships, along with the world's richest two-nation trade, migration and tourism. Last year, according to Statistics Canada, there were 173,986,354 land border crossings. These include tourism trips of at least one overnight stay that numbered 15,274,096 visits from Canada and 12,195,400 from the U.S. side. The boundary has become a gateway.

VANISHING FRONTIERS

BARRIERS COME DOWN IN THE BORDERLANDS

In the village of Estcourt, so the border between Maine and eastern Quebec. Richard Dickard, a 66-year-old former building superintendent, sits in the kitchen of the family home with his television. The refrigerator humming away behind him is in the United States, the TV set in Canada. "It is not really something you think about," says Dickard, who is a Canadian. "My parents lived with it and I do, too. The border? It's just there." Gabriel Chamberland, a Canada Customs officer in Estcourt, says that several homes in the community are intersected by the border. "We are very close," says Chamberland, as he shows a coffee break in his office with his French-speaking counterpart in the U.S. Border Patrol from neighboring Estcourt Station, Me. "The Canadians go over there to buy gas. The people from Maine use our banks and stores and even border towns."

The closeness cited by Chamberland is common along the great length of the boundary. In terms of relations between people, the dividing line is becoming as invisible as it is in Tolson Dickard's kitchen. The borderland's capacity to foster bonds instead of barriers has grown stronger than it ever was before. For the relationship that the border symbolizes is in a state of rapid flux. Sometimes, that change provides opportunities. Following the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement on Jan. 1, 1988, as well as a host of other changes, the border and the lands that surround it have been traversed and besieged, examined and cemented upon, as perhaps never before in history. "Until recently," says Victor Konrad, director of the Canadian-American Center at the University of Maine in Orono, "the border has always been seen as something benign and not very interesting." But, says Konrad, who heads an international project set up to study U.S.-Canada border towns and borderlands, "it is no longer as quiet and unassuming as it looks. The whole notion of our border is changing."

On the map, it means much as it has been for more than a century. From the Bay of Fundy, in Canada's eastern Maritime provinces, the border dips and zig-zags through an array of landscapes: forest, open, industrial, rural and urban, and it straggles west across the Prairies and winds through the Rockies to the Pacific. Its stretch extends less on the Alaska-Yukon border's icy Beaufort Sea, east-fifth of the state's disc-



Bill Raskinik at home in Derby Line, Vt., and Rock Island, Que., closeness

between distant from Puget. It has often been celebrated in terms used more than 20 years ago by the late U.S. senator from Illinois, Everett Dickson, who described the boundary as a model of its kind, an "unfettered, heart-warming symbol of trust, co-operation and friendship—the symbol of a bond."

The changes since Dickson's description in 1968 are borne out in statistics, social and technological patterns, and even in the world of entertainment. More people are crossing the border than ever before. In the past two years, the number of transborder crossings—many of

them by Canadian shoppers after bargains—has soared. Commercial traffic has eased accordingly. "There is also a sharpening awareness that airborne and water pollution cannot be contained by traditional national frontiers, Americans and Canadians are increasingly intertwined through major-league sports: they watch hockey at home, we watch baseball here. And such interweaves as the fax machine, electronic mail and banking, as well as the proliferation of cable television, have, says Konrad, "tended to make the border superfluous."

At the same time, the border's profile has been heightened. In recent weeks, Canadian truckers, protesting regulations that deny say favor American cooperatives, choked almost every border point with their vehicles. And it is a disquieting, if clear, reality that international drug busts, as well as smugglers of refugees, use the border a profitable way station in their illegal trades. The border has also become a media colossus: it is the central feature of the CNN network's *Old Border* series and a brooding presence in ABC TV's widely followed import series *Twin Peaks*.

The line is being launched at ever-below, mostly by Canadians who—as a result of reduced or abolished duties under the Free Trade Agreement—are buying everything from their daily bread to newly duty-free computers at bargain prices. Says John Wines, president of a Toronto retail consulting firm that has prepared a study on the impact of transborder shopping on Canadian merchants in Ontario's Niagara region: "It has turned from a trickle to a flood in the last year." Water says that, although tariff reductions have not yet made dramatic differences in the price of most items, "the expectations are high."

For many Canadians who live bunched along the border—the great majority—transborder shopping trips have become routine. Wayne Lee, 34, manager of a day-care center in North Vancouver, B.C., accompanied by his wife, Patricia, and two children, Jessica and Melissa, makes a monthly trip 40 km south to Kelowna, B.C., where they are currently researching sales and prices of the border. On a Sunday, they end up at a family-friendly restaurant that charges children 50 cents for each year of their age. So his children enjoy their meal for \$1.50 and \$3. It's a nice family outing." But, says Lee and



Fire squads from adjoining Bebe Plain, Que., and Bebe Plain, Vt., at the international border: 'the symbol of a bond'

other confounded transborder shoppers, it is also good business. Lee explains, "If the average family spends \$500 a month on food, they could get it for \$375 down there—in Canadian funds, lowering in the exchange and any day."

In Windsor, Ont., whose border crossings with neighboring Detroit are cited the world's busiest, James and Marie Longue and children, Hilary, 6, and Ryan, 4, also drive to the other side about once a month. They take the 40-minute drive to the huge Detroit retail outlet called Price, which charges member clients an annual fee of \$35 in U.S. funds. James Longue describes their savings as "unbelievable." Their purchases range from the mundane (a gallon of milk at 99 cents) to the splendid (a living room ensemble of couch, love seat, a recliner and three tables for the equivalent of \$2,000 Canadian). And according to Price employee Nadine Polak, "On Sundays, 99

per cent of our customers are Canadians."

Many American business people go out of their way to court Canadian customers in Sweetgrass, Mont., next door neighbor of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. The Glens Motel and Bar takes Canadian money at just every Thursday. "It really fills up here on Thursdays," says one waitress. "But then the locals were starting to use Canadian money, so we had to make it Canadian only." In Pittsburgh, W.V., 100 km south of Montreal on Lake Champlain, Sherry Dey, manager of Jim and Cheryl's Boat Shop in the Champlain Centre, accepts Canadian money at a Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday (roughly a 15-per-cent discount) she says that the boats in her shop, including some as materials as canoe in hand and sea-bike shells, will be twice the price in Montreal.

While American merchants welcome the business, the Canadian shopping fever has

generated tensions on both sides of the border, including new pressure on Canada Customs officers. At the B.C. Pacific Highway crossing to Kelowna, B.C., which has experienced a massive increase of passenger traffic in the past five years, inspectors at Canada Customs faced waits of up to five hours on the Victoria Day weekend in May. On many weekends at other high-volume crossings, lines routinely move at a crawl. Such delays discourage Americans trying to visit Canada. On the Detroit River, Audie Blanes, executive director of the Downtown Business Association in Windsor, says that "if we are going to deter tourists by asking them wait as long or longer, we are going to lose them."

Customs officers complain that staffing has lagged pace with the increased workload. Patrick Baker, president of the Windsor local of the Customs and Excise Union, says that,

beginning about a year ago, officers faced "accessible" increases in people crossing and revenue gathering. Butler notes that some Canadians now are importing cars—over a prohibitively expensive process—and paying the seven-percent duty and 13.5-percent sales tax. Says Butler, "The government did not take into account the effect of free trade on us."

In response to such complaints, Revenue Minister Otto Jelinek outlined a plan in March that he would speed up traffic. The plan, to be enacted after the next 10 years, grows computer systems to calculate duty and replace the processing of paper forms. Titled *Cantera 2000*, the plan also aims to deal more efficiently with the commercial import of goods, which rose to tens of millions in 1990 from seven million in 1980. Jelinek announced at the same time an increase in the penalties imposed on travellers caught failing to declare purchases—double the normal duty. Customs officials estimate that they are able to export goods to one in five of those failing to report purchases on returns from the United States. But Winter, the Toronto retail consultant, estimates that the cash rate on busy holiday weeks is only one in 20.

Other tensions may prove more difficult to resolve. In Canada, merchants complain about the loss of business to the United States. Anthony Contreras, 43, an owner of a company with five supermarkets in the Niagara region of Ontario, says that about \$115 million is now being spent annually in the United States by people living in the Niagara peninsula—a dramatic increase over other years. Says Contreras, a founder of a business lobby group called Shop Ontario, "Our business is stagnating when the population in the area is increasing." He says that in such communities as Niagara Falls, Ont., linked by bridge to the U.S., business is down 18 to 25 per cent. "It's nothing to do with, we're not going to continue to lose jobs and tax revenues," Contreras adds. "We may have to raise lower our standard of living—or move to the States."

Problems are solved by Sergio Gromis, manager of the Windsor-Stone County tourist office, who predicts that the introduction of a seven-per-cent federal tax on goods and services next year will increase the imbalance. American visitors, he says, already balk at the higher Canadian prices for cigarettes and alcohol. "For what it costs to buy a scratch and water here," he says, "you can buy almost a fifth of Scotch in the States."

For their part, some Americans resent the influx of Canadians. In the past year, from Burlington to the Maine-New Brunswick border, there has been rising concern of complaints about ill-mannered Canadians. Says Mike Sosnik, a clerk at Detroit's Pace auto "Some Americans refuse to come in here on the weekends; they come back on weekdays when there are no Canadians." Others complain that the visitors snap up all the bargain items. There are also complaints of littering. Says a Niagara Falls, N.Y., police officer, "They speed on our streets. And people keep

on saying how clean it is up there, but how come Canadians feel free to litter our parking lots with their old clothes?" Lee Thompson, a Canadian studies professor at the University of Vermont in Burlington, says that Canadians who "drop what they drop" in Vermont malls "are viewed the way that Canadians stereotypically view Americans—as sort of polite, bourgeois and overly courteous."

On balance, says J. D. Johnson, chief of police in Calumet, a community of 4,800 across the border from St. Stephen in southern New Brunswick, "personally and professionally, I welcome Canadians, without their dollars, Ca-

nada who say that what they like about Canada is the atmosphere of "a world apart." Powell, who has been travelling to Detroit every month on business since 1983, often stays in Windsor on his business trips. Explains Powell, "There are some very bad neighborhoods in Detroit. Once I get across the bridge, it's no great leap put in heaven when I am there. The people are delightful, very pleasant and open." Mary Tomiak is among many who return the compliment. She and her husband, Stephen, have opened the Carway Gift and Coffee Shop for 25 years at the Carway crossing on the Alberta-Montana border. "I like U.S. tourists," she



Pool player Louis Planteau in *Danbury, Que., and Fort Covington, N.Y.; motorist*

was would be a less viable community." But he also says that there are problems, including Canadians charged with offences involving drinking and driving who do not return to court after posting a cash bail. Johnson estimates that he is holding 100 warrants for Canadians charged with drinking-and-driving offences.

Other Americans say that they are comfortable with the cross-border relationship—and aware of the benefits that it brings. Says Carolyn Harding, marketing director of Pittsburgh's Champion Casino, which includes one of the vast new border-area malls that have sprung up in recent years, "I love Canada, period. [and I love] Canada." Harding says that about one-third of the mall customers come from the Montreal area and many Americans recognize the visits. "My husband and I go to Montreal to have dinner, shop, go to the opera and nightclub."

David Powell, 34, a property developer based in Indianapolis, is among other Ameri-

cans who say that what they like about Canada is the atmosphere of "a world apart." Powell, who has been travelling to Detroit every month on business since 1983, often stays in Windsor on his business trips. Explains Powell, "There are some very bad neighborhoods in Detroit. Once I get across the bridge, it's no great leap put in heaven when I am there. The people are delightful, very pleasant and open."

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Border crossing at Sweetgrass, Mont., and Coeur, Alta.: sharing values between the Great Plains and the Prairies

travelling back by a car or in a more recent.

To enter most countries across the border, the Canadians need visas and tourism ministry has spent \$100 million in the past five years on TV and print advertising. The ministry responsible, Tom Hocken, says that effort has begun to pay off. Hocken says that, until recently, Americans for the most part viewed Canada as a country of "moose and Mounties." Now, he said, *Maclean's*, a popular magazine that Canada is seen as an "exciting, interesting, vibrant country." He points that conclusion on an Ottawa-sponsored survey of 18,400 Americans earlier this year. That showed, for example, he said, that more of the Americans questioned would rather visit Montreal than New York City. It also indicated that roughly two out of three of those who had already

travels on both sides of the border. Even in New Brunswick, he married an American. The couple's three sons all have dual citizenship. Elliott, 35, as a true citizen of the borderland, he supports charities on both sides of the border, promotes businesses in both countries and in both currencies, has both Canadian and American on his staff of 30 employees and watches both Canadian and American national news every night. Says Elliott, "The border is a way of life. You take the thing for granted. There is really no more difference between Maine and New Brunswick than there is between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia."

Elliott's lifestyle expresses one of the many attitudes towards the border that Victor Kessel has found in his borderlands study from his University of Maine. Says Kessel:

"The border can be a barrier, a line, or a cross-border region that enhances the connection." He says that farmers living near the border on the Great Plains—the Prairies in Canada—"tend to share the same values and are very close." And in the mountain valleys connecting British Columbia to Idaho and Washington state, "the doctrine is north-south and the flow is constant." By contrast, Kessel adds, "In Fort Erie, Ont., and Buffalo, N.Y., however close they are, people are quite different. They even speak quite differently."

But Kessel says that scholars are coming to believe that the border and borderlands "are the crossroads of the relationship between the two countries." And that relationship will inevitably grow closer, he predicts. "The border is more permeable," says Kessel, who is a 60s years of both countries. "Free trade is contributing to this, and so is the fact that the values of North Americans are beginning to coalesce." It is along the world's largest border between two nations, with its frontlines and frontier alike, that the signs of that convergence of values are most clearly visible.

Alaska Highway near the Yukon border: more permeable boundaries



GLLEN ALLIER travelled the eastern border for this report, with MAE QUINN. Vancouver: reporting from the British Columbia Washington border, JOHN DOWNS, Calgary: in the Alberta-Montana border and Toronto: Assistant Editor VICTOR JEWELL for Windsor-Detroit

THE TWO NATIONS POLL

WHERE NORTH AMERICANS STAND ON 32 QUESTIONS

The Maclean's/Decima Two Nations poll results are based on responses from scientific samples of 1,000 people 18 or older in each country in telephone surveys between May 1 and May 6, 1998. Results presented here in rounded percentages of those polled in each country, are considered statistically accurate for both populations within a range of 3.1 percentage points, above or below the figures cited. TD shows out of 20. The range of potential error is larger for

subgroups and regions. In Canada, survey samples were designed to permit regional comparisons. The question regarding citizenship for Canadians province was asked only in Canada. The wording of all other questions, except for country names, was the same in Canada and the United States. Five of the questions, where indicated, were identical or similar to questions asked in the 1989 Two Nations Poll. Percentages in all responses may not add to 100 after rounding or when don't know replies or non-responses (N/R) are eliminated. Solutions, derived from actual percentages, may vary marginally from the sum of the rounded figures shown. Responses are shown separately when they differ significantly from national responses.

3. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing the United States/Canada today, the one that concerns you the most?

	Americans 1989 1990	Canadians 1989 1990
Politics/		
environment	5 17	16 20
National unity/		
integration	—	— 5 19
Business/tech/		
infation	12 8	22 10
Govt./infat/		
deficit	20 9	12 16
Drugs/alcohol		
problems	16 21	— 1
Other social/		
moral issues	25 24	17 6
Taxation		
(Canada only)	4 3	4 15
World issues/		
terrorism	6 5	2 1
Foreign trade/		
investment	1 2	10 2
No problem/		
D/N/A	3 10	11 6

Most important:	Quebec only	Rest of Canada
Pollution/terrorism	19 21	
Unity/integration	29 15	
Business/tech/infation	24 19	
Taxes/NAT	5 18	

2. Would you say that you are much more or a little more pessimistic about the future, or more optimistic than you were a few years ago?

	Americans	Canadians
Much more pessimistic	15 15	21 25
A little more pessimistic	36 42	
Neither	33 17	
Total more pessimistic	50 60	
Total more optimistic	36 29	
Much more optimistic	14 11	

Optimistic/pessimistic	Quebec only	Rest of Canada
More pessimistic	35 45	
Neither	23 15	
More optimistic	42 39	

3. What do you feel best serves your personal economic interests—business, government or union?

	Americans	Canadians
Business	48 50	
Government	32 30	
Unions	19 20	
D/N/A	12 5	

4. Would you describe the tap water in your home as not at all safe to drink, fairly safe or very safe?

	Americans	Canadians
Not at all safe	11 11	
Fairly safe	50 54	
Very safe	35 34	



Canada Day celebrants in Ottawa; Bush and Mulroney at the Bush home in Kennebunkport, Me., last summer (below) should Canada join the United States?

5. Would you say the quality of air in the area you live in is very poor, poor, fair, good or very good?

	Americans 1989 1990	Canadians 1989 1990
Very poor	4 4	
Poor	9 8	
Fair/very poor	13 12	
Fair	28 25	
Good/very good	59 53	
Good	43 36	
Very good	16 27	

6. Do you believe you should have the right to drive an automobile anytime or anywhere you want so long as it is within existing laws, or do you feel driving an automobile should and can be restricted further to protect the environment and reduce congestion?

	Americans	Canadians
Drive anytime/anywhere	62 49	
Restrict further	34 50	

7. Would you oppose or favor shutting down a major company that provided many jobs in your community if it was polluting the environment?

	Americans 1989 1990	Canadians 1989 1990
Oppose	33 34	37 36
Favor	64 58	60 60
D/N/A	3 9	3 4

8. Would you describe Canadians and Americans as essentially different, nearly different

but with some small similarities, mainly the same but with some small differences, or essentially the same?

	Americans 1989 1990	Canadians 1989 1990
Essentially different	6 16	16 28
Nearly different	15 14	24 26
Total different	21 29	43 51
Total the same	77 89	57 49
Nearly the same	60 43	43 37
Essentially same	18 20	13 12



9. Would you strongly oppose, oppose, favor or strongly favor Canada and the United States becoming one country? (1989. Should Canada become the 51st U.S. state?)

	Americans 1989 1990	Canadians 1989 1990
Strongly oppose	19 11	54 51
Oppose	22 33	37 30
Total oppose	31 43	85 81
Total favor	66 47	14 18

	Canada/U.S.A. one country	Quebec only	Rest of Canada
Total oppose	75	83	
Total favor	24	15	

10. Would you strongly oppose, oppose, favor or strongly favor your province becoming a state of the United States with full congressional representation and rights of full citizenship? (Canadians only asked)

	Quebec	Rest of Canada
Strongly oppose	57	
Oppose	26	
Total oppose	83	
Total favor	16	

	Quebec	Rest of Canada
Strongly favor	12	
Favor	4	

11. As you probably know, for a number of years there has been talk about the province of Quebec separating from the rest of Canada. Do you think the French-speaking majority in Quebec would stand a better chance of keeping its language and culture as part of Canada or as part of the United States?

	Americans	Canadians
Better as part of Canada	75	90
As part of United States	13	7
D/N/A	12	4

	Quebec better	Quebec only	Rest of Canada
As part of Canada	82	92	
As part of U.S.A.	12	5	

12. If you were given the opportunity to become a citizen of Canada/the United States and

to live and work there, would you? (1989 asked only "would you like to live in Canada or the United States?")

	Americans to Canada	Canadians to U.S.A.	1989	1990	1986	1990
Yes	42	30	27	30		
No	56	68	73	69		

Because U.S. citizens:	Quebec	Rest of only Canada
Yes	35	38
No	61	72

13. Do you think we should encourage more immigration, keep immigration at existing levels or reduce the number of immigrants allowed into the United States/Canada?

	Americans	Canadians
Encourage more	6	18
Existing levels	33	42
Reduce immigration	58	39

Immigration:	Quebec	Rest of only Canada
Encourage more	16	18
Keep present levels	51	39
Reduce number	31	42

14. Would you say that race relations in the community you live in have improved, stayed about the same or worsened in recent years?

	Americans	Canadians
Worsened	17	13
Stayed about same	56	62
Improved	25	23

15. When in private, do you never, rarely, sometimes or often feel ethnic or racial jokes?

	Americans	Canadians
Never	46	38
Rarely/sometimes/often	53	61
Rarely	25	28
Sometimes	25	28
Often	4	7

16. Do you believe all races are created equal or that some are genetically superior to others?

	Americans	Canadians
Created equal	86	96
Some superior	12	10

All races:	Quebec	Rest of only Canada
Created equal	84	92
Some superior	16	8

17. In the past year or so, have you found yourself more stressed in international or national news stories or events?

	Americans	Canadians
International	45	54
National	45	41

18. With the talks of East and West Germany joining after 45 years to separate states, do you think this increases the chances of peace, makes no difference to North America or increases the chances of war?

	Americans	Canadians
Increases chances of peace	80	59
Makes no difference to N.A.	18	38
Increases chances of war	14	11
IGNA	6	2

19. How about the breakdown of communism in Eastern Europe and the breakup of Soviet Bloc countries? Do you think this increases the chances of peace, makes no difference to North America or increases the chances of war?

	Americans	Canadians
Increases chances of peace	62	60
Makes no difference to N.A.	24	22
Increases chances of war	16	15
IGNA	6	3

20. With all the changes going on in Europe and the Eastern Bloc countries, do you think the

United States/Canada should be decreasing its defense spending, increasing it or keeping it the same?

	Americans	Canadians
Decreasing	41	34
Keep the same	42	53
Increasing	14	12

21. And do you think the strengthening of a European common market will reduce, not affect or increase North America's economic influence in the world?

	Americans	Canadians
Reduce	34	34
Not affect	21	32
Increase	30	25
IGNA	15	6

22. As you may know, Canada and the United States entered into a Free Trade Agreement about 18 months ago. From what you can tell, has this agreement hurt, made no difference or helped jobs and economic conditions in the United States/Canada?

	Americans	Canadians
Hurt (own country)	6	57
Made no difference	56	34
Helped (own country)	34	7
IGNA	20	3

	Quebec	Rest of only Canada
Free trade's impact	43	62
Hurt	43	31
No difference	43	31
Helped	10	6

Germans celebrate unification proposals for two out of three. It means peace.



INTRODUCING A WHOLE NEW CLASS OF SEDAN: WORLD CLASS. The totally new 1991 four-door Regal.

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BUICK REGAL

The Buick Touch

32. And do you feel that Canada has benefited more than the United States from the Free Trade Agreement, that it has had the same effect on both sides of the border or that the United States has benefited more than Canada?

	Americans	Canadians
Canada benefited more	39	4
Same effect both sides	42	24
United States more	10	66
DK/NA	28	5

34. As you might have also heard, there is now some talk of the United States entering into a similar free trade agreement with Mexico. Do you think that would be a very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or a very bad deal?

	Americans	Canadians
Very good idea	6	5
Good idea	28	30

Good/very good idea	35	35
Neither good/bad	24	38
Bad/very bad idea	35	30

Bad idea	24	30
Very bad idea	9	10

35. Because Canada and the United States already have a Free Trade Agreement:

(a) Some people say that Canada should join us with the United States and Mexico in a full North American common market.

(b) Others say that Canada should not join in the U.S.-Mexico agreement but should have the right to have a say in the negotiations.

(c) Still others say that Canada should stay out of any further talks about new trade agreements between the United States and Mexico.

Thinking about these three points of view, which one best reflects your own?

	Americans	Canadians
Canada should:		
Join full N.A. market	38	24
Not join, have a say	39	30
Stay out	18	43
DK/NA	15	3

36. And do you feel a free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico would weaken, not change or would improve North America's economic influence in the world?

	Americans	Canadians
Weaken	22	21
Not change	32	41
Improve	33	32
DK/NA	12	6

37. Now, suppose for a second that you came into a large sum of money that you had to invest



Famous celebrities by the half-dozen

stared. In which of the following regions would you be more likely to make your investment?

	Americans	Canadians
Canada (total)		
Americans only	30	n/a
United States		
(Canadians only)	n/a	34
Europe	24	29
Japan	37	34
DK/NA	8	3

38. Many people have told us that they have had contact either through work or socially with Canadians/Americans. As a result of your own experience, would you rather deal with someone from Canada or the United States, or have you really not had enough contact to tell?

	Americans	Canadians
Canada	8	39
United States	18	11
Not enough contact	69	44

39. If you had a choice between Brian Mulroney and George Bush as president of the United States/prime minister of Canada, which one would you choose?

	Americans	Canadians
Brian Mulroney	8	35
George Bush	8	49
DK/NA	11	16

30. If you were marooned on a desert island, which would you rather have with you—a television set with all the channels and videos

you would ever want to use, a library of all the books you would ever want to read, a stereo with all the best songs you would ever want to hear, your best friend of the same sex; your current partner or spouse, an attractive member of the opposite sex whom you hardly know?

	Americans	Canadians
Television	7	4
Library	16	14
Stereo music	3	3
Friend same sex	7	5
Partner/spouse	50	61
Opposite sex	13	11

FEMALE RESPONDENTS:

	Americans	Canadians
George Bush	13.4	17.2
Brian Mulroney	4.2	21.2
Armando Hall	16.8	9.4
Tina Turner	16.2	28.0
Sean Connery	13.0	12.8
Michael J. Fox	8.2	35.2
DK/NA	8.2	5.6

32. And which one do you think would be the best lover?

	Americans	Canadians
George Bush	4.0	3.8
Brian Mulroney	0.8	3.4
Armando Hall	5.2	2.6
Tina Turner	22.4	24.4
Sean Connery	37.4	18.0
Michael J. Fox	6.6	8.4
DK/NA	38.6	27.4

MALE RESPONDENTS:

36. Which one of the following would you most like to meet and talk to?

	Americans	Canadians
Nadine	9.0	25.4
Jane Fonda	14.4	24.4
Barbara Walters	28.4	19.4
Oprah Winfrey	12.0	8.4
Anne Murray	7.8	28.6
Nichelle Phillips	18.0	24.8
DK/NA	13.4	9.0

38. And which one do you think would be the best lover?

	Americans	Canadians
Nadine	28.0	18.0
Jane Fonda	14.0	18.0
Barbara Walters	4.8	2.2
Oprah Winfrey	2.0	3.2
Anne Murray	7.2	8.8
Nichelle Phillips	25.8	19.6
DK/NA	22.2	19.4

Tanqueray & Tonic.
In a glass of its own.

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

'OFF TO THE RACES'

PERSONAL RELATIONS GET THINGS DONE

For its second annual Portrait of Two Nations issue, Maclean's conducted interviews with both Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President George Bush, asking their views on global issues, hemisphere affairs, relations between their countries—and themselves. During a 45-minute interview at his official 24 Sussex Drive residence with Editor Kevin Doyle and Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson Smith, Mulroney began by discussing his relations with Bush, raising an incident on the day before the President's inauguration on Jan. 20, 1989. Excerpts.

Maclean's: I was at home by myself upstairs. It was about half past five in the afternoon and it was a busy day. The phone rang. I picked it up and this guy said, "Hello?" And I said, "Yes." He said, "It's George." And I said, "George?"

"Yeah, George Bush." Then he said "Look, the inauguration is tomorrow. The first trip I want to make is to Canada. I've got some dates here." So we talked about it. This was brand new to me. I didn't have any schedule. So I said, "Let me get them done." He suggested a date. He said, "If that date's not fine, we'll get another." Then he said, in a style that's become entirely characteristic of the relationship, "Look, I'll leave it up to you. Let's agree on a date. I'll tell [national security adviser] Brent Scowcroft to get in touch with Derek Boushey [then Mulroney's chief of staff, now Canadian ambassador in Washington], whom Bush knows, of course, from the free trade stuff. He said, "They'll work it out and I'll call you later." That was it. That's the way we do a lot of the time.

Maclean's: About the Mexican-U.S. free trade proposal, which seems to be moving pretty quickly, does it concern you that it may undermine the Canadian-American accord?

Mulroney: Well, first I am not sure it is moving as quickly as some people suggest. As I indicated to President [George Bush] President Carlos Salinas when he and I chatted about it, even for two nations and in many ways complementary economies, like Canada and the United States, the preparation for this was intense and the negotiations was no less so. It took from March of 1986, the Quebec summit, to the signature in January of 1988. And today because that some of the naivest views that on our behalf discussed will be difficult to achieve. We will see a substantial opposition to this in the United States, for example, from the trade unions, for obvious reasons.

Maclean's: Do you want to be involved in the talks?

Mulroney: Well, we will be involved if we feel that at any time our interest is required. At the moment, they are at the most preliminary of stages. I think the concept is an attractive one and a beneficial one. And it brings benefits to the United States, as well. The largest one being, I think, rather an indirect one it is the only instrument that is going to ensure prosperity and stability in Central and Latin America. There is not another mechanism devised by man that will have a more solidifying influence on the lives of nations than trade. Free and free trade. So I think it is to my advantage, as it is to ours, to encourage this process. If you believe in trade as an instrument at least as powerful as aid, if not more so—and I believe it is much more—

to developing economies, then you have to give them access to your markets.

Maclean's: The changes in Eastern Europe have raised a resurgence of global politics. How do you define Canada's role in the new global climate?

Mulroney: We have a stand-alone relationship with the United States which is probably unique in the world—which is not unhelpful by the way, in getting things done. We are developing a good stand-alone relationship with the Soviet Union. When President [Mikhail] Gorbachev arrived here, we spent 2½ hours having lunch upstairs and we were supposed to meet with officials the next day and we just kept the meetings going, just the two of us, for about three hours. Then we had lunch together. Then we drove out to the airport. I suppose we had five or six hours of private discussions. It is so simple that *The New York Times* reported that President Bush had called me. I didn't call him. So we were able to do some things on both sides that contributed to making their talks a little more easy for both of them.

Maclean's: How did that process work?

Mulroney: I will give you an illustration of how informal but important it could be. When President Gorbachev talked to me about what was going to happen in Washington if he didn't get some accommodation, to say he was firm was the understatement of the year. He didn't want to hear anything about NATO, his very being. But if NATO showed a united Germany, NATO would become the only instrument for economic and social progress and military strength in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. And he would be out in the cold. As he said, "You have taken our common enemy in. Destabilized Europe. Put the Soviet Union in a position of legitimate concern." So I talked to him at great length about Lester Pearson's and the Chaudhry contribution to the foundation of NATO, which is the famous Article 2, which is known as the Canadian article, to give it a political version rather than a military one as well, if the time came. The time came.

Maclean's: How was that relevant to President Bush?

Mulroney: I raised this with the President [Bush]. When he called me back, he said to me, "Listen, I've got the Canadian article right at front of me and it's very attractive and it's a very persuasive." So he said that himself done as a complimentary fashion with President Gorbachev. There is an indication of how we can work these things out. You know, Canada is the only country that is a G7 member, a Commonwealth member, a member of the Americas, and the OAS [Organization of American States]. If you have the personal relationship to go along with it, you're off to the races.

Maclean's: So in this new world, there is a different role?

Mulroney: I believe so. I believe that you have to assert it and you have to go out and try to build it on. One Sunday, we had a problem and I picked up the phone to call Jacques Delors at home, or Kenneth Canada will call one of the blur, or Michael Maslin or Margaret Thatcher. That is because the relationship is there. But national interests can move along only if they are aided by a degree of goodwill that comes from good personal relationships.



Maclean's: Are you giving any thought to voluntarily leaving the quotas for Eastern European immigrants?

Mulroney: I tell you, we were very surprised, when East Germany went, to find how few, if any, wanted to come to Canada. We were ready to take thousands upon thousands and we were with love. I can remember talking to Barbara [Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall] and saying "Barbara, we have to 'Shit' say." From Moscow, before you get at it again on this issue, let me tell you we have done A, B and C to facilitate the inflow and I have to tell you that they are attracted by a Canada which is right next door, and it's called West Germany. Everybody speaks German, they have the same kinds of prosperity and the same kinds of Western outlook and values and democracy. And so we have to say we're rather surprised with the fact.

Maclean's: Should a reunited Germany still be a part of NATO?

Mulroney: That united Germany says, "We want to be part of NATO." That is what is going to happen. And Canada is going to support that very actively. Canadians fought in the war with great courage, and so did the Americans. But the battlefield was thousands and thousands of miles away. For the Soviet Union, the battlefield was in their own backyard, and they lost the equivalent of the population of Canada. So they were in an entirely different light. It's very important that we be extremely sensitive to that.

Maclean's: Is what says?

Mulroney: We have to reassure the Soviet Union that its fears, while legitimate and deeply seated in history, will never materialize. Otherwise, if we fail to do that, President Gorbachev, who is under challenge in the Soviet Union, may feel himself challenged not by [them] who would want to go to the left, but by others who want him to go to the right.

Maclean's: What does he need to answer?

Mulroney: He needs a period of undisturbed respite to focus on consumer goods and focus on making a better life for Soviet citizens. He left in this house and he said, "You know what, Brian, you know what my group about Canada when we came over here?" "No." "We are absolutely satisfied." I said, "About what?" "We 20 million people can produce such enormous wealth. We are absolutely embarrassed at the meanness of your achievement." I suppose, when you think about it that way, here in Canada, 26 million people—less than one-tenth of the population of the Soviet Union—sitting at the G7 table.

Maclean's: When would you expect to see a Canadian troop level in Europe reduced?

Mulroney: I don't know. I'm sorry, I can't answer that. It is going to be part and parcel of the approach I've just described to you.

Maclean's: That means rather than just?

Mulroney: I can't say that. I'd rather not speculate.

Maclean's: In our Two Nations poll, there is a question where Canadians and Americans are asked, honestly, "Should the two countries be one?"

Mulroney: It will never happen, ever. I believe that, 33 years from now, the editor of Maclean's will be sitting right here talking to the prime minister of Canada. I cannot foresee what of the questions are asked to be, obviously, that there are two I am absolutely certain of: one is English-French relations, and the second is Canada-U.S. it.

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

'WHO CAN READ THE TEA LEAVES?'

BUSH SAYS RELATIONS ARE STRONG

The Maclean's interview with President George Bush took place in the Oval Office of the White House last week, a day after his magazine's Ottawa interview with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. In a half-hour discussion, Bush talked candidly with Editor Kevin Doyle, Washington Bureau Chief Mary McDonald and Washington Bureau Correspondent Hilary Maclean. Before they put their first question, Bush pressed forward with his description of relations between Canada and the United States, and between him and Maloney. Excerpts.

Bush: I think the relationship is very strong. And I am determined not to take it for granted. I have found Brian Maloney to be extraordinarily cooperative. We've had marvelous consultations on a lot of issues—the Gorbachev visit, most recently. Before Gorbachev came to Canada, we talked. After he left Canada, we talked. Then, I called him to give him some views on what I think went so here. And it isn't just on these big, broad global issues, but he has been away at my very facility, as you would with a friend, when we differ on issues. And that is the way I find it—a good way—is narrow differences. **Maclean's:** There has been a traditional sense in Canada of being overlooked or ignored by Washington. That seems to be quite the opposite with you and Maloney as of late. Could you describe how that relationship works as a result of such success, or is that the Gorbachev visit?

Bush: I have confidence in his judgment as he looks at post-Gorbachev-united Europe. So, on the Gorbachev visit, I would say, "If you get a chance, you might tell President Gorbachev how strongly the United States feels about Germany being a full participant in NATO." If you think that he'd tell me, "Look, I'd feel uncomfortable doing that, but most of the time I think he'd probably agree, and in this case he does agree. So he would feel that he was doing not a favor, but being constructive, knowing that Gorbachev was coming here with [British Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher that would be helpful to him as he sat down to talk about Canada and the Soviet Union, I wouldn't hesitate to tell him. So there's got to be personal chemistry, to some degree. He and Mike came to Maine last year,

brought the kids, and there was no formality, there were no manners or Maastricht accord. It just was very smooth, and we had a good, easy time. And we could expect and talk freely. He could point out that he was irritated with us over some other thing about Ireland, and I could show him some letters traps right off our house and say, "With a minute. Lighten up here. I've had some problems with this, too." You can't do that with some people.

Maclean's: Many Canadians believe that Canada is on the brink of heading up. The fact that we did for the past year mentions that 25 per cent of Quebecers would like to become American citizens. How would you deal with a separate Quebec?

Bush: The United States has engaged for years dealing with a unified Canada. So I don't even want to answer the hypothesis because it would suggest me into something that I want to stay out of.

Maclean's: It now seems likely that talks about free trade between Mexico and the United States will begin. Are you concerned that that would undermine the arrangement with Canada?

Bush: I don't see why it should. I think it would be very well to show North American solidarity, if you will, by getting together and something of that nature, three countries. In fact, we've talked about it. I don't know whether we'll do it or not, but it seemed like a very good idea to me. Well, Maloney's very optimistic, and a lot of other Canadians I think. I can guarantee you that we're not going to do something that works to the detriment of an agreement that's just starting to function.

Maclean's: You have just met with President Gorbachev. Are you astonished by his spend at which things have changed?

Bush: Mike's [brother-in-law] and I called him "a world leader."

Maclean's: Is that true? Is it a time for optimism?

Bush: Yes. It's a time for not missing opportunities. But who would have predicted the astonishing, the forward motion, of Gorbachev? We weren't so to that. We didn't know for certain how all those things would develop. So when a potentialist/pessimist in this country suggest on me that he'd bring more emotional at the time of the Berlin Wall beginning to come down, I felt I knew what I was doing. And we had heard from Gorbachev at the time. We'd heard from other European leaders not to overreact, not to



do anything that would force events when they were moving properly anyway.

Maclean's: How do you see a demilitarized or more heavily militarized NATO working?

Bush: You start by accepting it takes that are not directly related to any issues [armed] at one another or talks kind of against one another. Maybe it can come with a new concept of verification that would be totally acceptable to all parties and all interests. I don't believe [the Soviets] think U.S. troops in Europe are a threat to them. We know that it's the interests of a stable Europe and the national security interests of the United States, and I would say Canada, to have a unified Germany in NATO and a U.S. presence continues. **Maclean's:** Did the Prime Minister speak specifically with you on that broader political role?

Bush: We discuss these things. When we're up there at the White House, we have dinner—and a couple of drinks, I might add. And we talk about things of the nature and kind down back and forth. I think this concept that I've just tried to spell out is something that's highly agreeable to him and to most Canadians.

Maclean's: With all of our attention on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you had to encapsulate how America's role in the world, particularly in Europe, will now change as a result of that, how would you describe it?

Bush: I think most Eastern European countries, and I know that Gorbachev, and I know all Western European countries, feel that a U.S. military presence in Europe is not detrimental to anybody, but stabilizing. And so I foresee U.S. troops being there for some time to come, perhaps at reduced levels. But only if they're wanted. I wouldn't have my kids there in some country against the will of the people. That's why I want to see the Soviet troops go out. This perception that we're being conspiratorial with others with less military and more economic [infiltration] in some goes by we've got to have reasonable defense and national security concerns here. Because we don't want to be naive about this changing world. There's still some danger. There are scary scenarios about proliferation. And who can read the tea leaves? We couldn't read it even clearly a year ago. Why should we think we can read them 100 per cent today?

Maclean's: Does the new role that you see for the United States in the world and the sort of changing balance of power mean that there will be a different or greater role for middle powers, particularly for Canada?

Bush: The concept of the U.S. and Canada and Mexico staying very closely together on things would go all three of us, certainly in the economic field, a standing that cannot be overlooked by anybody. But Canada has an independent foreign policy. We've differed with you on some issues in the past, particularly in Central America. We've been able to discuss it very frankly and without rancor. But I expect Canada will continue to call them as it sees them. Canada was way ahead of us in dealing with the People's Republic of China, for example. So in this hopefully more peaceful world evolves, I would expect to see Canada out on the cutting edge of some new relationships, from which we would learn not possibly follow, as we did in China.

Maclean's: Mr. President, I'm going to ask a hypothetical question. In our most recent poll, we asked women where they would rather meet and spend time with. And you may be interested to know that out of Brian Maloney, Armin Falk, Tim Cruise, Sam Craven and Michael J. Fox, you beat them all. How do you react?

Bush: [Laughs in this group] [Laughs]. It must have been kind of an older crowd. Who were the respondents?

Maclean's: American women.

Bush: Hmmm. I was going to try to pay tribute to Canadian women. I just better let that one go by. □

FAMILY SNAPS

FROM THE MULRONEY HOLIDAY ALBUM



During Ronald Reagan's last term as U.S. president, he and Prime Minister Jean Mulroney established a pattern of annual meetings that alternated between their two countries. Those meetings between two leaders of Irish descent were known as shamrock summits—the first took place in St. Fitzee's Day, 1986, in Quebec City—and were often elaborately gala events. With President George Bush, however, the meetings are mostly informal. Late last summer, George and Barbara Bush visited Brian and Milla Mulroney and their five children to the Bush seaside home in Kennebunkport, Me. Officially, the 26-hour get-together was "a working holiday" for the leaders, but mostly it was fun. Apart from four hours of discussion on bilateral and world affairs, the Prime Minister and the President—also nose and all—played with Nicolas Mulroney (left), most boating (above) and walking with their wives and Milla Mulroney (below). During an interview with Mulroney's last week in Ottawa, Mulroney brought out the family album photos of the occasion and lent Maclean's his pictures, including a snap (below left) of the President snuggling Brian and Milla Mulroney.



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East German refugees arriving in the West. 'The breakdown of communism is the best thing, the most incredible thing'

SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

GOOD NEWS IN THE WIND

CHANGE IN EUROPE BRINGS THE PROMISE OF PEACE

"Americans have a more narrow view that they are the centre of the world. In Canada, we are one of many countries in the world."

—Dorothy Kinsler, Pennsylvania-born author of children's books who now lives in Charlottesville

It may reflect a national inferiority complex. It may be the openness of an outward-looking society. Or perhaps Canada's closeness with constitutional reform were simply no match for the high drama of revolutionary upheaval in Eastern Europe. Whatever the reason, 54 per cent of Canadian respondents to the Marlow & Decima 'Two Nations' poll, conducted as the constitutional debate approached its 100th anniversary in May, said that they found themselves more interested in international news stories over the past year. Only 41 per cent said that national news captured more of their attention. The numbers were much closer among American respondents—46 per cent said approximately 45 per cent said national. And that was despite the fact that, as White House commu-

spooners openly acknowledge, George Bush's kinder, gentler America has also been a decidedly duller one, creating a year of relatively little American news.

Clearly, many Americans are the centre of the world in their own backyard, but in the poll also shown, they cannot ignore what is happening across the Atlantic. For many Americans and Canadians, two nations formed by immigrants and their descendants, the connections to the Old World are as real as relatives and neighbours. For even for those without direct ties, the Eastern European changes—as well as the closer unification of Western Europe—have aroused not only interest but a mixture of emotions—both the hope of peace and future challenges and, for others, doubts and even dread.

In general, however, North Americans seem to view changes in Eastern Europe as a positive light. Roughly three out of five poll respondents in both countries say that the changes in Eastern Europe and the prospect of German unification increase the chances of peace. Responses to another poll question show that the

optimism is granted: majorities on both sides of the border oppose cuts in defence spending. Michael Krauss, a 29-year-old law professor at George Mason University in Fairfax, Va., is among the optimists. Said Krauss, who was among many North Americans interviewed separately from the poll: "I think German reunification increases the chances of peace. The breakdown of communism is the best thing, the most incredible thing to have happened in 20 years."

In fact, in the Two Nations poll, 68 per cent of Americans and 58 per cent of Canadians say that the unification of East and West Germany should improve peace prospects. More Canadians than Americans—28 per cent compared with 19 per cent—say that German reunification would not affect North America, while 14 per cent of Americans and 11 per cent of Canadians hold that it actually increases the chances of war.

To some observers, the undercurrent of North American distrust on the German issue is a generational phenomenon. Said Michael Babinick, a 36-year-old financial adviser in Vancouver: "My father's generation will tell us

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that the last thing we did when they were signing the Statute after the Second World War was that there will never be a reunified Germany. And a mere 45 years later, it is coming to fruition. There must be some concern to that generation, but I don't share it." Others, however, clearly do. "I am really disturbed of a united Germany," said Linda Rosenbaum, 42, a Toronto publicist's assistant. "Being Jewish is a part of it. I look at history and I am very fearful."

On the political transformations in Europe, 62 per cent of Americans and 90 per cent of Canadians respondents say that it promises peace. Few were of those interviewed, the same

dest Mikhael Gorbachev should be forced from power, he added, "we may find ourselves in a catastrophic situation, which could result in war."

Those possibilities are clearly on the minds of U.S. and Canadian policymakers as they conduct a contentious issue of whether to decrease national defence spending. Asked in the poll whether Ottawa and Washington should cut back, 41 per cent of American respondents say that U.S. officials should decrease military spending. But a majority disagreed. 42 per cent said that there should be no change, and 14 per cent say that spending should be increased. Among Canadians, only

eight per cent as a peacekeeper. The changes in Europe could eventually affect the A-500 Cruise missile, which is scheduled to be in part of NATO's deterrent, but the need for peacekeepers in such countries as Cyprus and Somalia will likely remain for the foreseeable future.

Both Washington and Ottawa have already announced plans for some modest cutsbacks in their military budgets during the 1990s. And the debate, many North Americans are pressing for benefits from the so-called peace dividend in the form of reduced taxes, more spending on social programs, or both. James Guckler, a 39-year-old New York City financial analyst, said that the unrelenting of Eastern European communism "means it will take less might to defend Europe, as long as the transition there goes smoothly." He added, "It means we can spend less money on the military and spend more on social programs to try to help the poor."

Many North Americans are also watching changes in Western Europe, particularly the planned closer economic integration of European Community countries by 1992. In the poll, one-third of Americans and Canadians said that the strengthening of the European Market will reduce North America's economic influence in the world. Fifty-two per cent saw one of respondents in both countries said that it would increase North America's influence, while 21 per cent of Americans and 22 per cent of Canadians said that it would have no effect.

That overall split in opinion seems to reflect a general uncertainty about North America's economic future. Steven Gardner, 34, a Detroit-based computer software salesman for Sun Microsystems, B.C., and of the European Economic Community. "There is always the thought that they may say, 'To hell with everybody else,' and that would be a real problem."

For soldiers, European integration poses not so much a threat as a challenge. Gen. Paul Meunier, 55, the retired chief of the defense staff of the Canadian Armed Forces, now living in

McLennan, Va., says that the new power of Europe will "put North America in the shadow." But Meunier, who is director of strategic planning for Unisys Defense Systems, added "in the long run, it is going to be good because it will finally teach North Americans that they cannot live in economic isolation. We have to become more competitive." There is a fear in a future of world involvement that may prove as less troubling than the challenging years of the Cold War. But, as many North Americans make clear in their opinions on the shape of things to come, there is hope now that the new kind of global competition is likely to be peaceful.

BOB LEVIN



Gorbachev, wife Raisa, with Boris Yeltsin, wife Mila (far left) triumph

problem is the way that the West has portrayed these developments. Gary Barrett, 34, a native of Woodstock, N.Y., who is studying at the Harvard University School of Theology in Cambridge, Mass., and that the information reaching him "is completely presented in the form of the triumph of capitalism—it is as easy as self-congratulation."

Others are clearly concerned about the changes. According to the poll, 16 per cent of Americans and 15 per cent of Canadians say that the events in Eastern Europe increase the chances of war. Andrei Senicki, 47-year-old director of Gorbachev studies at the University of Vermont in Burlington, said that the situation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is extremely fragile and volatile. If Soviet Pres-

ident Boris Yeltsin should decrease defence spending, 52 per cent said that they should keep it the same and 22 per cent said to increase it.

On the surface, those results make Americans, traditionally regarded as more hawkish than Canadians, appear comparatively dovish. But there may be other reasons for the differences. The United States has a superpower-sized military, which takes up about 29 per cent of the federal budget. It spends its nuclear umbrella over Canada and other territories and it has carried by far the heaviest burden of Cold War commitment. The Canadian Armed Forces, on the other hand, account for less than one per cent of the annual budget and the country is renowned not as a potential war-



Lobstermen in Holyrood, Nfld.: attitudes colored by economic troubles

SPECIAL REPORT PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

FREE TRADE'S SOUR TASTE

CANADIANS TURN AGAINST THE FTA

In the fall of 1988, few issues caused more contentious debate in Canada than the proposed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States. A series of opinion polls that culminated in a survey by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney that the divorce must be decided in free trade's favor with the rejection of the Mulroney government on Nov. 21, 1988. And immediately after that, a Maclean's/Dominion poll showed that majority opinion had shifted in favor of the trade deal. The FTA became an issue on Jan. 1, 1989 but by late that year, opinion had changed again: a slight majority then opposed the pact. Now, those negative attitudes have strengthened. In the Maclean's/Dominion "Two Nations" poll, 57 per cent of Canadian respondents say that the

agreement has already harmed Canada's economy. "The FTA has become an easy focus for frustrations for Canadians," said Peter Morris, a professor of economics and Canadian studies at the University of Miami in Ocaso. Added Morris: "Canadians are being influenced by nationalists who blame every economic ill that befalls the country on U.S. imperialism."

Canada's economic ills in recent months—a slowdown under austere interest rates—may well have colored public attitudes. That was reflected in another poll response in which one in five Canadians rates economic troubles as the country's most important problem. For Americans, economic concerns are a major issue, the poll shows. And the American pessimism on the trade agreement dovetails interest in, or even awareness of, the FTA. 58 per cent of Americans polled say that the pact has had

no discernible effect on their economic conditions, and another 20 per cent offer no reply at all. Among the remaining small minority, twice as many Americans as Canadians (14 per cent to 7 per cent) say that the pact has improved economic conditions. Said Richard Boesner, a former Torontoian who is now a senior editor for *Harvard Business Review* Inc. Publishers in San Diego: "It is a reasonable bet: Free trade is almost never discussed in the news."

Indeed, to a poll question asking which country has benefited more from the agreement, 38 per cent of Americans say that they have so little. A plurality of 42 per cent say that the FTA has had the same effect on both sides of the border. The rest of the American respondents divide in a ratio of 10 to 10 between those who say that Canada has gained more and the smaller group who perceive more benefits for the United States. By contrast, the verdict in Canada is less: 66 per cent say that the United States has benefited more. For another 24 per cent, the effect has been even on both sides. The rest divide between those with no opinion and a negligible four per cent who say that Canada has been the winner.

Dominion Research chairman Allan Gregg says that the negative Canadian attitudes towards the FTA arise from criticism by labor unions and nationalists, who have cited the trade deal whenever a U.S. company closes a Canadian subsidiary and moves production to the United States. At the same time, government and business groups that campaigned actively for free trade in 1988, and forecasted long-term benefits, have been largely silent since the agreement was implemented. According to figures collected by the Canadian Labor Congress, which groups 2.2 million members, the pact has been responsible for the loss of roughly 105,000 jobs. Added Reg Dool, 36, a Canadian singer from Port Huron, Ont., now living in New York City: "Where are we going to find jobs for all these people?" The United States is a behemoth. I think free trade will go down another one of Mulroney's follies."

Many economists and commentators deny that the FTA is to blame for the loss of jobs. Early in June, Statistics Canada reported that 295,000 manufacturing jobs had disappeared in a year. While union spokesmen said that free trade was the main cause of the loss, business leaders blamed Ottawa's emphasis on fighting inflation with high interest rates. Overall, the Canadian unemployment rate in May was 7.5 per cent of the labor force—more than one million people were out of work—but that rate has varied only marginally during the past two

years. Guy Stanley, a business professor at Yesh University in New York, says that focusing on job losses overlooks the fact that the deal has made Canada's companies "more outward looking and more competitive than before." Craig Dobson, whose company in St. John's, Nfld., operates helicopter and other services in many countries, including the United

States, says that the FTA is a fabulous deal that will wash out the negative aspects of our economy." But Gregg says that the pact is not getting through. He added, "Quite simply, there is more evidence of bad things happening in the Canadian economy, and people are prepared to link the problems to free trade."



Automotive on Ford assembly line in Oakville, Ont.: a loss of factory jobs

States, says that the FTA "is a fabulous deal that will wash out the negative aspects of our economy." But Gregg says that the pact is not getting through. He added, "Quite simply, there is more evidence of bad things happening in the Canadian economy, and people are prepared to link the problems to free trade."

Despite the readiness on both sides of the argument to blame or credit the FTA for altering the economic order, some economists insist that it is not possible to link the unemployment to the trade agreement. The expected job destruction, corporate restructuring and opportunities will not be fully felt until the late 1990s, they say. The deal, intended to enhance commerce that already accounts to the world's richest two-way trade, is designed to eliminate tariffs and other commercial barriers in stages over 10 years. The Economic Council of Canada, which advises provincial and federal governments, has estimated that the FTA will create an extra 250,000 jobs in Canada over 10 years.

The early effects of the accord are hard to determine because of the adverse con-

ditions of the free trade agreement that the one we're in now," said Gordon Reuber, Canada's former deputy chief trade negotiator. "The adverse impact of the withdrawal of the Canadian dollar has 20 times the impact of free trade."

Still, economists concede that some industries are vulnerable to the removal of tariff walls. In the Canadian furniture industry, for one, a 10-per-cent tariff on competing U.S.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker with Canada's External Affairs Minister Joe Clark (right) debate



imports will be phased out by 1993. About 50,000 jobs have been lost in the furniture industry that employed 62,000, according to the Canadian Council of Furniture Manufacturers. One result of the FTA is March. Bill-Rita Upholstering Co. Ltd. closed its Toronto plant, eliminating 400 local jobs, and shifted production of its Executive Series to a lower-cost facility it opened last year in Tapelo, Mass.

On the other side, as the U.S. seven-per-cent tariff on processed fish is phased out, Campbell Soup of Camden, N.J., has cut 1,731 workers from the payroll by closing several plants in the United States. It is planning to shift production of most of its low-volume dress coats Toronto plant, which would double in size to serve what the company is calling "the North American common market." Said Robert Miles, senior vice-president of Campbell Soup's Ltd. in Toronto: "Free trade definitely is a catalyst in that happening." During a visit to Toronto last December, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo remarked: "I know you have lost some jobs as have we. After these adjustments, this deal is going to be good for everybody."

Retailers in New York and other border states are among the early beneficiaries of free trade. Despite having to pay a premium on the dollar exchange rate, many Canadians are buying such newly duty-free items as wine and computers on cross-border shopping expeditions. The United States has also won favorable decisions in early rulings of dispute-settlement panels set up under the FTA, notably in the regulation of lumber, salmon and farming interests. But as the FTA takes effect, the two nations' economies, the value of Canada's exports to the United States increased by 2.3 per cent in the first three months of 1989, while U.S. exports to Canada rose by less than one per cent compared with the first quarter of 1988.

In the pending argument over free trade, many Canadians contend that their country begins with major disadvantages simply because the American population and economy are 10 times larger than Canada's. They add that Canadian business is comparatively less competitive. Paul Moughar, for one, a property developer and planning contractor who lives on a family farm near Prince Albert, Sask., says that "Detroit, the Detroit free trade has been a disaster for Canada."

Moughar, 51, is a former Conservative member of the Saskatchewan legislature. He spent two years in the Florida real estate business in the late 1980s, but moved back to Canada because "the crash rate and the drug wars" were not healthy for his three daughters. Said Moughar: "Business will move south. Unfortunately, we cannot compete because our social security net is so expensive." Moughar's comments, and those of many others, are a clear indication that the debate on whether Canada will prosper or suffer free trade has really just begun.

ANNE WALMSLEY

DARING TO DEAL

MEXICO COURTS CAUTIOUS NEIGHBORS



Mexican workers prepare land in Yucatán; Salinas (below): ambitious plans

The conservative, pro-business tale that has waivered over much of North America and Europe during the past decade has finally reached Mexico. Ever since the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Latin American giant has been a bastion of isolationist economic policies and protectionism. But, since almost a reversal of that tradition, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has begun to tear down that country's tariff barriers in an effort to increase trade and investment. Salinas's next step is even more ambitious: earlier this year, he called for a free trade deal with the United States and said that Mexico would consider a similar accord with Canada. Salinas's policies, enforced in principle by President George Bush during a June visit from the Mexican leader, are highly controversial in Mexico. Now, the Free Nations poll shows, Americans and Canadians are also divided over the merits of a wider free trade zone.

In both the United States and Canada, 58 per cent of those surveyed say that a Mexico-U.S. free trade agreement is a good idea. But a similar proportion (55 per cent) in the United States, 50 per cent in Canada) oppose it. Another 54 per cent of Americans and 50 per cent of Canadians express neutrality. "It is somewhat strange that there is no strong opinion one way or the other," said economist Laurence Whitehead, director of the University of Toronto's Centre for Telecommunications Studies. "I am

surprised—I would have thought there would be more opposition from people who are afraid of competition from cheap Mexican labor."

The poll also suggests that attitudes towards free trade with Mexico vary widely according to sex and socioeconomic level. Forty-one per cent of Canadian men and 45 per cent of American men favor U.S.-Mexico free trade, compared with 28 per cent of Canadian women and 27 per cent of American women. In both countries, there is significantly more support for U.S.-Mexico free trade among university graduates, professionals and executives than among low-collar workers, people with below-average incomes and those with high-school educations alone.

Respondents were then asked whether Canada should join the United States and Mexico in a full North American common market, should not join but seek to have a say in the U.S.-Mexico negotiations, or stay out of the talks entirely. In the United States, 58 per cent favor Canada's participation in a three-way market, 54 per cent say Canada should stay out of any such negotiations, and 38 per cent say Canada should have

a say in the talks from the sidelines. Among people interviewed separately from the poll, Peter Jones, a Scarborough, Canada, citizen who now lives in a farm in Warwick, N.Y., shares the view that Canada should welcome free trade with Mexico. "In the 1930s, when Canada was a world power economically, it could stand alone," said Jones, 58, a physiotherapist. "Now, I think it should be looking for anything that can increase its trade."

In Canada, however, 45 per cent of the poll respondents say that Ottawa should have nothing to do with trade talks between Washington and Mexico City. Thirty per cent say that Canada should not join a trade pact but should attempt to influence the discussions, and 34 per cent favor Canada's full participation in a three-countries deal. Canadian attitudes towards their country's involvement in free trade with Mexico appear to be shaped in part by the poll respondents' assessments of the results of the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Half of those who say that the agreement between Ottawa and Washington has hurt Canada's economy also oppose any Canadian involvement in trade talks with Mexico. But only 29 per cent of those who say that the FTA has helped Canada oppose Ottawa's involvement.

Vancouver financial adviser Michael Bakula is among Canadians who express doubts about free trade with Mexico but, at the same time, say that Canada should protect its interests in any U.S.-Mexico deal. Bakula, 35, who says that Canada "got the short end of the stick" in the FTA and sees little advantage in a similar deal with Mexico, adds that as a U.S.-Mexico trade, "it would be in Canada's best interests to be involved in a third party."

And the uncertainties over the direct impact of free trade with Mexico, about one in three of both Canadian and American poll respondents agree that U.S.-Mexico free trade would strengthen North America's influence in the world. Fewer people, one in five in both countries, say that extending free trade to Mexico would weaken North American influence, while the rest who responded say that it would make no difference. Free trade advocates claim that a continental-wide trade agreement would help North America to compete against rival trading blocs in Europe and Asia. It is a view expressed by Manuel Lassaig, a Cuban-American who is vice-president and senior economist of the Miami-based Southeast Bank. According to Lassaig, the big worry over the coming decade will be "those regions that continue their resistance to production in the most cooperative way." Salinas himself would no doubt moderate that sentiment, but many Canadian and American clearly remain to be convinced.



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THE CHALLENGE FROM MEXICO

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

During the original free trade debate, which doubled as the 1984 general election, politicians stomped the last, calling each other scoundrels, traitors, liars, power-hungry cats and, on occasion, power-hungry scoundrels. The Tories promised free trade would turn Canada into an economic Garden of Eden while the Liberals said it would destroy the Canadian dream.

Neither turned out to be right, but typical of the absence of understatement, which characterized the maddening, was Sheila Copps's contention that the real victims of free trade would be the unborn. Once the agreement was signed, she shrieked, American lawyers would gear across the border, searching for surrogate mothers' wombs to rear for their children clients—presumably because Canadian child-birth would be cheaper with Medicare. No courts worth-laying has yet been reported, but just about everything that has gone wrong with the country's economy since the free trade pact went into effect on Jan. 1, 1989, is being blamed on free trade.

As the survey in this issue shows, 57 per cent of Canadians believe that their country has been hurt by free trade, with only seven per cent recognizing any benefits. At the same time, two-thirds of Canadians are convinced that Americans have profited more from the deal than we have. The Canadian Labor Congress estimates that 185,000 jobs have already been eliminated by the pact. Not all these employment losses were due to free trade, but Statistics Canada confirms that 185,900 industrial jobs, a full eight per cent of the secondary manufacturing labor force, disappeared in the past year. And because the country's trade deficit continues to rise and its artificially high Canadian dollar—most exporters would prefer a 20-cent exchange rate to the current 88 cents—have helped accelerate that process.

We now have the worst of both worlds: Canada is no longer the domain of preference for American bond plants (which came here to jump over tariff walls that are about to

The worst is yet to come—Canadians who hated free trade with the United States are going to loathe free trade with Mexico

disappear), while most Canadian manufacturers brine enough to avulse the American market are moving their factories south of the border. There have been some Washington concessions, such as exempting Canadian companies in joint ventures with American partners from stiff industrial rules soon to be applied to other foreign firms, but so far the overall picture is bleak.

Beak in our current situation may be, the worst is yet to come. Canadians who loved free trade with the United States are going to loathe free trade with Mexico. We'll become pawns in the Yankee dollar. Not only will such a deeper North American trading pattern seriously dilute whatever small benefits have accrued from our treaty with Washington, but what's left of Canada's industrial base could disappear as the face of Mexico's wage rates, which average 60 cents per hour.

At the Washington meeting held last week between presidents George Bush and Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the two leaders agreed that "a comprehensive free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico is the best vehicle" for achieving outward trade and sustained growth. When House speaker Dan Rostenkowski speculated that a full-scale North American free trade area, including Canada, will be

the ultimate result of these negotiations.

Bush apparently does not intend to be sidetracked by Ronald Reagan, who once speculated about a continental market, encompassing North America's three groupings of persons—255 million people with a combined gross national product of \$6.4 trillion. Such an economic colossus would become the world's most powerful trading bloc. (Under the 1982 economic pact, the 12 Central American countries will bring together 204 million people with an estimated GNP of \$4 trillion.)

There is no free timetable for such a daring rearrangement of trading patterns, but the U.S.-Mexico deal is likely to be signed during Bush's first term. Canada will likely be involved in the talks and, last week in Montreal, Mexican Trade Minister Jaime Serra looked Trade Minister John Crosbie on his country's planned free trade discussions with the United States.

The Mexican initiative is part of Salinas's impressive effort to revive the Mexican economy. Last July, Mexico concluded a precedent-shattering deal with 500 international banks, including Canada's Big Six, reducing its \$100-billion foreign debt by 10 per cent. Salinas's National Development Plan projects that by the end of this term, in 1994, the value of the \$28.5 billion that outsiders currently have invested in Mexico will double. The Mexican economy still has many structural problems, and a free trade partnership with the United States has become the centerpiece of Salinas's recovery plan.

Now, or even if, Canada plans to respond to the Salinas proposal in cardiac. The Reagan-McIntyre agreement contains no provision for extending to Canada future trade benefits granted by the United States to any third country. Apart from having to compete in the American market against cheaper produced Mexican goods, Canadian manufacturers would have to face the devastating price levels of Mexico's Maquiladora zone. That is the depopulated area of northern Mexico where workers turn out every imaginable product for duty-free import into the United States, under minimum income conditions, with virtually no health, safety or environmental standards.

Two-way trade between the United States and Mexico already totals \$60 billion (Canada's trade with Mexico is just over \$2 billion), but the Americans are anxious to tap Mexico's market of 85 million under-served consumers. What possible advantage the deal would be for Canada is impossible to calculate. But we may have no choice.

Back during the 1985 debate about free trade with the United States, Oliver Cox and Mexico's columnist Carlos Gussman reflected some of the hysteria of the moment when he uttered his dig on the issue: "Well now, Pido," he demanded, "how do you think it will be when we have free trade with the Americans?"

Pido was right—and he didn't even know about the Mexican connection.

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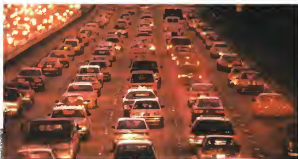
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SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

COSTING THE CLEANUP

PEOPLE WEIGH THE PRICE OF A SAFER ENVIRONMENT



Traffic on a Los Angeles freeway: many are ready to sacrifice jobs for cleaner air, but not the freedom to drive cars

Michael Wolfe, a 43-year-old human resources director with a Los Angeles-based financial advisory company, says that he drives loaded rather than tap water and thinks that preserving the environment is more important than protecting jobs. Still, Wolfe says that he would not agree to limitations being placed on the use of automobiles unless there was a vast improvement in public transit. On the other hand, Masak Buzaregard, a 25-year-old university student in Montreal, says that she sees no problem with the quality of the air or the drinking water in Montreal. But she says that, in order to relieve urban traffic congestion, motorists should be allowed to drive only on even- or odd-numbered days, depending on the final digit in their license plates. The opposing views held by Wolfe and Buzaregard were among widely varying opinions on environmental questions that emerged from cross-country interviews and in the separate *Maclean's*/Decision poll for the *Two Nations* report. In that poll, the pollution of the environment

ranked by one of five Canadian respondents and by almost that many Americans as the most important problem that their countries face. Roughly three out of five people in both countries agree that corporate polluters should be shut down, regardless of the impact on employment. At the same time, substantial majorities express the view that air quality in their areas is good or very good and that the local tap water is at least "fairly safe." But the poll shows that Americans and Canadians react differently to the idea of personal freedoms being limited in order to curtail pollution.

Fifty per cent of the Canadian respondents say that the use of automobiles should be restricted in order to reduce traffic congestion and to cut back on atmospheric pollution from car exhausts. But only 34 per cent of American poll participants agree with that proposal. According to Allen Gragg, chairman of Toronto-based Decision Research, which conducted the poll, Americans are much more likely than Canadians to accept restrictions on personal freedoms because they have a more deeply in-

grained belief in civil liberties. Said Gragg: "Lifestyle-culturalist measures that may accompany environmental protection in the future are going to be much more difficult to implement in America than they are in Canada."

Although Americans express reservations about specific measures to reduce pollution, they have become much more concerned about environmental issues, the poll shows. In the current poll, 47 per cent of American participants rate the environment as the most important problem facing the United States, compared with only five per cent in last year's *Two Nations* poll. In Canada, the environment is rated the top problem by 30 per cent of the participants, compared with 16 per cent the previous year.

Said Kathryn Dally, a 29-year-old resident of London, Ont., who worked and studied in the United States for eight years before returning to Canada in 1988: "The biggest problem facing Canada is the environment. When I came back home, I was shocked to see the local

beach closed because it was polluted."

Although Canadians and Americans differ on the issue of the environment and personal freedoms, the poll indicates that citizens of the two nations hold strikingly similar attitudes when asked about companies that pollute. Sixty per cent of the Canadians polled, and 56 per cent of the Americans, say that they would favor shutting down a major local employer that polluted the environment. Support for harsh measures against polluting firms is also reflected in interviews with Canadians and Americans. John Evans, president of the Ottawa-based Trust Companies Association of Canada and a former Liberal member of Parliament, said that "if a spill of whatever kind is upstream of a population and is polluting that river, the health of the people has to take precedence."

But the poll indicates that, while people on both sides of the border say that they are ready to jeopardize jobs to reduce pollution, Americans are far less willing than Canadians to sacrifice individual freedom for the sake of cleaning up the environment. The poll shows that 62 per cent of Americans

respondents, but only 40 per cent of Canadian ones, say that they would allow the right to drive anywhere anytime within existing laws.

For many Americans, unrestricted use of an automobile included with personal freedom and civil liberties. Texas native Molly Elliott, a Dallas-area car dealer who spends six months a year as an instructor at a race driving school near Belleville, Ont., said, "I think it is necessary to educate people so that they realize themselves, rather than using outside force and regulations." Likewise, Montana Gov. Shirley Humphreys, a native of Calgary, said that he would never give up his personal freedom on driving. Said Humphreys: "I think automobiles can be developed to meet tougher environmental standards. We can move forward with technology, expand the economy and look after the environment at the same time."

Still, many citizens of both countries say that they are prepared to sacrifice freedom of mobility for cleaner air. Larry Berg, a professor of political science at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, said, "When you are forced to breathe air pollution caused by people who drive, that is a loss of freedom. Driving is a very good right." And Thompson, Mass., lawyer Thora Pender, who also supports limits on the use of motor vehicles, said that driving is a privilege, not a right. Said Pender: "If there were certain restrictions on driving, it would not affect your liberties." But giving up the automobile for another form of transportation is almost impossible, said Dr. Margaret



Air pollution, Montreal: majority says local air is safe

Erland, an Edmonton native and environmentalist who practices in Los Angeles. Added Erland: "This society will give away people the time required to ride a bicycle between home and the office. People want you in the car with the car phone to call you now."

The poll also shows that a majority of Canadians and Americans believe that their local tap water is at least fairly safe to drink, but significant numbers of people in both countries have deep reservations about that, according to the poll. While 50 per cent of the Americans polled express the belief that their drinking

water is fairly safe, only 38 per cent say that it is very safe. Similarly, 54 per cent of the Canadian participants say that they have fairly safe tap water, while only 34 per cent deem it very safe. In each country, 11 per cent of the poll respondents say that they believe their water is not at all safe to drink.

Canadians and Americans are far more confident about the quality of their air, the poll results show. Only 12 per cent of Canadian participants say that they think their air is poor or very poor, while 63 per cent express confidence that they are breathing clean or very clean air. In the United States, 13 per cent of the survey participants express deep reservations about air quality, while 55 per cent say that they believe the air that they breathe is either good or very good.

In practice, growing fears about the safety of drinking water have led many people to change their personal habits. Erland says that she drinks bottled water and most of her patients will not drink the tap water in her office. Her husband, said Marie-Claude Despins, a University of Montreal graduate history student, "I do not like the tap water here. I drink it occasionally, but I also buy mineral water."

Despite such concerns about environmental problems, some of the people interviewed say that cleanup measures need not disrupt the economy. Drew Ritchie, for one, a Toronto-based Los Angeles television scriptwriter in her

30s, says that she has become worried about air and water quality since she moved to California in 1988. But she added: "I think a cleanup would create new jobs. Recycling will be a huge money-making proposition. I don't think it will be job loss as much as new job creation in preserving the planet."

Such opinions are encouraging political leaders to take stronger measures against pollution. At the same time, the evidence that many people remain concerned over how that actions with personal freedoms indicates that governments may be pushed to ward cleanup actions that do not fundamentally challenge accepted standards of North American life.

BY ARCTE JENSEN with
correspondents' reports

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PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

DESERT ISLE DESIRES

MEETINGS, MINDS AND HEARTTHROBS

In most of his films, actor Tom Cruise has portrayed cocky, egomaniacal characters possessed of impenetrable self-confidence and the conviction they are irresistible to the opposite sex. Whether blasting across the sky as a fighter pilot in *Top Gun* or making fools of pool-playing opponents in *The Color of Money*, the 37-year-old Cruise has behaved like an all-American centerfold for the hearts and minds of female moviegoers. Now, there is evidence that he may indeed be winning—at least the hearts. Both Canadian and American women who participated in the *Madison Avenue* TV show poll were asked who on a list of six prominent personalities would make the best lover. Cruise was the runaway favorite on both sides of the border. But he has some distance to go to capture women's minds when asked who they would most like to meet and talk to. Canadian women chose Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. Their U.S. counterparts overwhelmingly selected President George Bush.

The lighter side of the poll of U.S. and Canadian attitudes also explored the relative attractions of sex, conversation, intelligence, sensitivity, music and literature. The responses by men and women to three questions showed some cross-border similarities—and a few pronounced differences. Some of the findings reveal stark facts far from sex appeal: One-in-five politicians or talk-show hosts and interviewers, men and women in both countries opt for books over TV and music; and, if stationed on a desert island, Americans are substantially less likely than Canadians to select a companion for their current spouses or partners. Calgary's Stanley Stephens, 66, Montana's governor and one of the numerous North Americans interviewed separately from the poll, chose books. But he added that the question excluded "what I'd really want—a ship-to-ship phone."



Cruise and Pfeiffer: Are these our heroes and sex symbols? Yes

Presented with the prospect of becoming catnip on a desert island, respondents were asked what they would like most to relieve their loneliness—a best friend of the same sex, their current partner, an attractive stranger of the opposite sex or an omniscient supplier of stereo music, books or TV channels and videos.

Others had less difficulty making up their minds. Professional race-car driver Micky Kitz, 30, who spends parts of each year in Texas and Ontario, said that he would take books, because if he chose a man, "I'd probably have him after a couple of weeks." Alberta-born Gary Joking, a 29-year-old reporter for the *Minneapolis Star*, daily newspaper *The Minnesota Star*, said that he would choose his wife, adding "Life on a desert island in Minnesota isn't much different."

In the second and third questions, men and women polled were given the names of six prominent personalities of the opposite sex and were asked, first, who they thought would like to meet and talk to, then, which of the six persons they thought would be the best lover. The list for female poll respondents consisted of Bush, Maloney, talk-show host Arsenio Hall, Cruise, who lived near Ottawa as a child, and actors Sean Connery and Canadian-born Michael J. Fox. The lineup for male participants named Madonna and Anne Murray, actresses Jane Fonda and Michelle Pfeiffer, and TV interviewer Barbara Walters and talk-show hostess Oprah Winfrey.

Among American women, Bush was the



Male sex, books and videotape, but no telephones

current partner was handy in both countries, but by significantly different margins: while 61 percent of the Canadians surveyed wanted their mate, only 64 percent of the Americans did. Sixteen percent of the Americans and 14 percent of the Canadians said that

they would take the books. The third most popular choice in each nation: an attractive stranger of the opposite sex.

Many of those who took part in the survey said that they would have preferred a broader menu of choices. So says Franca, the 34-year-old Toronto actress who appears in the CBC TV dramatic series *Street Legal*, said, "I love books, I am really close to my best friend and I love my husband. Can't I take all three?" And Lee Thompson, 44-year-old Montreal-born professor of Canadian studies at the University of Vermont in Burlington, said that she found the options "brutal—that is asking me to choose between the women and human connections."

Others had less difficulty making up their minds. Professional race-car driver Micky Kitz, 30, who spends parts of each year in Texas and Ontario, said that he would take books, because if he chose a man, "I'd probably have him after a couple of weeks." Alberta-born Gary Joking, a 29-year-old reporter for the *Minneapolis Star*, daily newspaper *The Minnesota Star*, said that he would choose his wife, adding "Life on a desert island in Minnesota isn't much different."

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Among American women, Bush was the



Connery, Madonna, Walters (below): sexy, supported, and a stimulating somebody for a type

choice of 43 percent of those polled in the men they would most like to meet and talk to. He took in second place was Cruise at 16 percent, followed in order by Connery, Hall, Fox and Maloney, who was picked by four per cent. Margaret England, a 37-year-old Edmonton chef, said that she would like to meet Maloney because "I know the least about what he does." The Prime Minister topped the poll among Canadian women as the preferred man to meet. As the choice of 21 percent of the Canadian women, he edged out Cruise, at 19 percent, with Bush third at 17 percent. Fox, Connery and Hall brought up the rear.

But those pollsters visualized when women addressed the question of who they thought would make the best lover. Cruise scored a two-sided victory, appearing to 31 percent of U.S. women

and 36 percent of the Canadians. The rugged Scottish-born Connery, at 19, was the international runner-up, the choice of 17 percent of the Americans and 13 percent of the Canadians. Maggie Curvey of New York City, a 23-year-old arts student and bartender who said she would most like to meet Fox, chose Connery as the best lover because "he's been around and he's sexy as hell." Left in the dust in both nations were Fox, Bush, Hall and Maloney. Still, a large number of the women selected the sometimes obscure TV veteran. Eighteen percent of the Americans opted for Pfeiffer and 14 percent for Fonda as the women they would most like to meet. In Canada, 17 percent of the women selected the sometimes obscure TV veteran. Eighteen percent of the Americans opted for Pfeiffer and 14 percent for Fonda as the women they would most like to meet. Madonna performed fairly well, taking a different tack. "I'd most like to meet Madonna to see if she's really as sex-loaded as she sounds." The women who most opposed to Canadian males in the poll for a meeting and conversation, after Walters, were Anne Murray and Madonna. Presumably, there is always the chance that if the conversation lags, they could break into song.



Alan Gregg said that women were "significantly more undecided" than men about who would make the best lover. Said Gregg: "It tells you something about the psychological attraction of the two sexes. I guess."

Only 25 percent of the American men and 19 percent of the Canadian males did not pick a best-lover candidate. Mendel Ben-David, 39, a 63-year-old semi-retired management consultant, was among the men interviewed separately from the poll who declined to respond. "If I spent more time living in Italy I'd be better equipped to answer," he said. The most popular choice among male Americans poll respondents: Michelle Pfeiffer, who starred in *The Fabulous Baker* or *Beyond the Pale*. Sixteen percent of 26 percent

Madonna attracted the support of 36 percent and Fonda, 15 percent. Murray and Walters answered 16 percent among them. What Madonna lost among Americans she won from the Canadian males. 26 percent of whom put her first. Pfeiffer was second at 26 percent and Fonda close behind at 13. The remaining three had the same local popularity as they did in the United States: John Evans, 44, of Ottawa, former Liberal MP for Ottawa Centre and president of the Travel Companies Association of Canada, sided with poll participants who declared to whom they would make the best lover: Sean Dims. "From my perspective," he said, "I would most like to meet and talk to a woman who would make the best lover: Sean Dims. 'From my perspective' thinks she is, and you couldn't expect me with Madonna if he's depended on it."

What Tom Cruise was a double winner as a sex symbol for the women. Barbara Walters rated first among the males of both countries as the woman they would most like to meet and talk to. Twenty-one percent of the Americans and 19 percent of the Canadians selected the sometimes obscure TV veteran. Eighteen percent of the Americans opted for Pfeiffer and 14 percent for Fonda as the women they would most like to meet. Madonna performed fairly well, taking a different tack. "I'd most like to meet Madonna to see if she's really as sex-loaded as she sounds." The women who most opposed to Canadian males in the poll for a meeting and conversation, after Walters, were Anne Murray and Madonna. Presumably, there is always the chance that if the conversation lags, they could break into song.

RAE CORRELL with correspondents' reports

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STANDARD LIFE



Quebecers celebrate St. Jean Baptiste Day; English-speaking residents are fading away, reduced to a Montreal minority.

SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

ACCENTS OF CONFLICT

THE MELTING POT MENACES LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

Language in Calvin J. Wilton's business is a linguistic demographer, an academic who charts and maps shifting language trends. He was born in Chicago, worked in New York City and now lives in Montreal, where he teaches at the French-language University of Quebec.

In the United States, he has conducted a landmark study into the future of Spanish in that country. In Canada, he has explored the same terrain with regard to French. The bearded, 49-year-old professor is, as a result, more qualified than most to compare Canada and the United States on the issue of bilingualism and biculturalism. And in Wilton's opinion, there is absolutely no difference between the two countries when it comes to the assimilation of minority languages. "They are identical," he asserts. "It is a myth that Canada is essentially bicultural while America is essentially not. While it may be true that there is an English-speaking part

of Canada and a French-speaking part, what it really boils down to is both countries are North American. And North American culture—whether French or English—is the same."

Despite vastly different approaches to the thorny question of language, Canada and the United States share remarkably similar patterns of assimilation. Although the evidence is often incomplete, and sometimes contradictory, it suggests that minority languages in both countries are gravely threatened. In Canada outside of Quebec, the proportion of the population whose mother tongue is French is in decline. The 650,000 members of those non-Quebec francophone communities are subject to high rates of assimilation.

Inside Quebec, anglophone newcomers have all but disappeared everywhere but on the island of Montreal, where the bulk of the 680,000 remaining English-speaking residents

of the province reside. And in the United States, all minority tongues, with the possible exception of Navaho, would face outright extinction were it not for the replenishing effects of immigration. That is true even for the 30 million Hispanics in the United States, a community that has been growing at an average rate of four per cent a year for the past decade. As Wilton remarks, "Almost everywhere you look, the melting pot is at work."

Despite the similarities, however, the overwhelming majority of both Canadians and Americans, as the Maclean's/Dominion Two Nations poll shows, express a belief that Canada is indeed a place where languages other than English are accepted. Nine out of 10 Canadians surveyed in the poll, and three out of four Americans, say that French-speaking Quebecers would be more likely to retain their language and culture in part of Canada than in part of the United States. "They have a better



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choice of surviving in Canada," said Michael Walle, 43, a New York-born human resources director who moved to Columbia after studying and working in Montreal and Ottawa during the 1970s. "I think people in this country are less tolerant of circumlocutory language differences. People are more turned to be American. Here you are an American. In Canada, it tends to be reversed and you are an Italian-Canadian."

That perception is supported by the fact that Canada is, officially at least, a bilingual country. It has been 21 years since the first Official Languages Act was passed by Parliament, guaranteeing the use of French and English in more than 100 federal government institutions. That law was substantially revised and updated in 1988 to make good the constitutional guarantees in the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The same year, Parliament adopted the Multiculturalism Act. And last year, in September, a bill creating the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute was passed in the House of Commons. If approved, the bill will facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of the scores of mother tongues that immigrants first brought to the country.

Canada's legislative efforts on behalf of minority languages and cultures have been more than empty gestures. Successive Canadian governments have spent billions of dollars in an attempt to implement the official language policy. In the last fiscal year, the federal commissioner of official languages, Dillenville Fortin, reported that federal spending on language programs totalled \$549.6 million and resulted in 3,612 new years of work by bureaucrats. Current-year budgets for those programs are \$261.1 million and 3,645 person-years. As well, there have been a host of less ambitious provincial initiatives, mainly in Ontario and Quebec.

Nothing in the United States compares with either the scale or the totality of Canadian endeavors. The American experience, in fact, has been almost directly contrary. While the government in Ottawa spent close to \$300 million last year to help fund a broad range of provincial and local bilingual education programs, in one just one example, Washington knocked the Canada-dollar equivalent of \$160 million last year for U.S. department of education bilingual programs.

It was not only the funding that differed, but

also the expected purpose. The Canadian programs supported second language instruction in either French or English for 2.5 million elementary and secondary school students. The U.S. programs, in contrast, focused narrowly on 310,000 pupils in 780 local school projects. Most of those students were Spanish-

speaking. The latter effort, "said James Draper, acting director of the Washington-based Joint National Committee for Language, a research group for 36 language teacher associations in the United States. "The opposition points to the problems between Quebec and English Canada and claims it is going to happen down here, too, unless something is done to put a stop to things."

The opposition is led by an organization known as U.S. English, founded in 1983 by the Vancouver-born educator, linguistics specialist and former U.S. senator S. I. Hayakawa. Operating out of a suite of well-appointed Washington offices around the corner from the White House, the group is dedicated to a campaign for a constitutional amendment or a law that would designate English as the official language of the United States. Resolutions to that effect have languished in Congress ever since they were first introduced in a decade ago by then-Senator Hayakawa, now 85. But his organization, which has informal consultative links with the Ontario-based Association for the Preservation of English in Canada, has had better luck on a state level. In all, 10 states have declared themselves officially and unilaterally English, including eleven of the 40 states with large concentrations of Hispanics. "Language is a bridge, and in this country that bridge has always been English," and Katherine Brodsky, executive director of U.S. English. "We want to make sure it remains that way."



Residents in a Hispanic neighborhood, Los Angeles assimilation

speaking. All were handicapped by limited English proficiency. The objective, to equity them with English so that they could move as quickly as possible into the country's mainstream. As James Crawford, a Washington writer who is the author of an in-depth history of bilingual education in the United States, observed, "The sum of 96 per cent of federally funded bilingual programs in this country is not to assist students in acquiring a second language, but, rather, to help them discard their first."

Despite that, it is perhaps ironic that bilingual education is under attack in the United States largely because opponents claim to detect a trend away from the strictly transitional nature of existing programs towards the Canadian model. "Canada is correctly being held up as an example of everything but that can-

It may well be an unnecessary effort. As Calum Watson shows in his 1988 study of the Spanish in the United States, it is not English that is threatened. He found that after Hispanic immigrants had been in the country for 15 years, 75 per cent of them were speaking English on a regular daily basis. Seven out of eight children of Hispanic immigrants speak English speakers for all practical purposes. And the grandchildren of immigrants nearly all had English as their mother tongue. Much the same situation prevails in Canada. Francophones are falling away a English Canada, a proportion of 10 per cent. These results, if they are correct, suggest that, no matter how vigorous the endeavor to remind the parents, it is the melting pot that will prevail in the end.

BARRY CAHILL

THE RACIST UNDERSIDE

VIOLENCE AND INSULTS INFLAME ETHNIC DISCORD

In the Bronx, N.Y., neighborhood of Bensonhurst last summer, a mob of white youths (today shot a 16-year-old black named Yusuf Hawkins, who had returned into the predominantly Italian-American community to transfer buying a used car there). Later, when blacks marched through Bensonhurst in protest, they were greeted with shouts of "Niggers, go home!" Last spring, at Calgary's Crow's Feet Market, apprentice carpenter Peter Kozak added legal pins that depicted a white man in front of three other men: an Oriental person, wearing a carder hat, a Sikh in a turban and a black man clutching a spear. A caption read, "Who is the enemy in Canada?" Comparing the pins to the notorious white boards worn by the racist Ku Klux Klan, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney warned, "This is the racism that we have to guard against."

Despite these prominent examples of racial tension, roughly one in four respondents to the Maclean's December *Two Nations* poll in both the United States and Canada say that race relations in their countries have improved in recent years. Majorities—83 per cent of Canadian poll respondents, 56 per cent of Americans—say that there has been little change. Slightly more Americans than Canadians, 17 per cent compared with 12 per cent, say that race relations in their communities have worsened. John Persons, a 43-year-old native of Huntsville, Ala., who now is a lecturer in medieval history at the University of Toronto, shares the view that relations are worsening.

Persons, who is among many North Americans interviewed separately from the poll, says that, in Toronto, "there is increasing antagonism on an individual level." Adds Persons, referring to the Canadian Human Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination on grounds of race, color, ethnic origin or religion: "Given

most policy is one thing, but it happens on a certain level. Individual attitudes cannot be legislated."

At the same time, the poll points to pronounced hostility towards immigration in North America, with that feeling markedly stronger in the United States than in Canada. About three out of five American poll respondents (58 per cent) and about two in five

science student at the University of Montreal, says only that "There should be more immigration." Added Beauregard, who has also lived in West Africa and New York City: "The world should not have barriers." Lincoln Steffens, 47, a native of Palo Alto, Calif., who moved to Canada in 1968, agrees with that view. Said Steffens, an urban planner in Calgary: "Bring these all in. They add to our culture."



Black and white New Yorkers in Bensonhurst confrontation: 'attitudes cannot be legislated'

Canadians (39 per cent) favor a reduction of immigration. Similarly, only six per cent of American respondents support an increase in immigration, while 18 per cent of Canadians say that the immigration rate should rise. Said Janel Bruneau, 46, a geography professor at the University of Montreal in Montreal: "Immigration is undermining the traditional order of society, and it is fostering an increase of racism and ethnocentrism."

Those sentiments are evident in Canada as well, but many residents interposed said that immigrants had built Canada and continue to contribute to a healthy cultural diversity. Monik Beauregard, 35, a graduate political

The contrasts in American and Canadian attitudes towards immigration were also noted in different histories and experiences. Before Confederation, during the era of American slavery, tens of thousands of slaves—estimated to range from 30,000 to as high as 100,000—crossed Canadian territory from the southern states, many on the Underground Railroad, a secret network of routes and safe houses. Since then, official Canadian policy towards the admission of refugees and immigrants, especially nonwhites, has been equivocal. But against the melting-pot tradition in the United States, where new immigrants traditionally were expected to shed their culture



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THE INSIDE STORY

TOURING



ONTARIO

By Martin Short

"Southampton is A Remarkable Place Filled with Such Great Memories for Me" Southampton, Ontario is a pretty little town of about 3,000 people near Owen Sound. I used to go there every summer as a kid from 1955 to 1963. It was particularly popular with people living in the Hamilton and Kitchener areas. Southampton is this sleepy, lovely little town — like "Mayberry" but on a beautiful strand of beach on Lake Huron. I still go back whenever I can and now I take my own family there and rent a cottage at least once a year. What's interesting is that it's not far from Bubble Beach where there are all the amusements and more of a rock and roll crowd, if you prefer that kind of thing. You can have the best of both worlds all within a short distance of each other. I was the youngest of five and my mother used to let us go out to play in the morning and that was it. We were gone all day. I remember my friend, Jimmy Reason and I building this huge hole for the cottage bully up there and leading him into it! The sand was so soft and beautiful, perfect for building castles and my father would often hide a buried treasure and then make a wonderful map. My friends and I would spend half a day following it. (To this day I'm still convinced that we really found buried treasure there.) When I wasn't down at the beach, I used to be a boy at the bowling alley in town, to make some summer spending money. You know, the type of place where the lanes were kind of warped but no one minded. Southampton is a remarkable place and is filled with such great memories for me. There is a lovely lighthouse there that always intrigued us and a couple of years ago, my brother Brian found a replica of it and gave it to me for Christmas. It sits on the mantle in my house in California. The cottages there are like the one in the film, "On Golden Pond." Very simple and rustic, not fancy and built-up. The type of place that if there is sand on the floor, who cares. The cottages actually go along the beach for and further into the town there are some lovely Victorian homes and the whole area is very picturesque. We really did spend most of our time at the beach. Swimming in Lake Huron was great and the temperature was never cold. I can remember that every three weeks or so, my brother Michael would come running into the cottage yelling "the waves are out today" and there would be these huge Lake Huron waves and we would play bucking broncos. We would all pile onto this huge air mattress and ride the waves. It was fabulous. The beach was also great for marshmallows and wicker roasts and campfires on the sand at night with our friends. Southampton is just the ideal place for a child to spend the summer.

compiled by Laura Chisholm



ACTIV and SATURDAY NIGHT LIVE alumni, Martin Short starred with Nick Nolte in the film "THESE FUGITIVES" (he's currently developing several projects for the Disney studio).

MARTIN SHORT discussed SOUTHAMPTON and you can see the year-long of THE INSIDE STORY and more information on travelling in Ontario call toll-free 1-800-ONTARIO or the Toronto area 905-609 and T.D. (416) 905-6027.

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SPECIAL REPORT

heritage and adopt that of their new homeland, Canada in recent years has officially encouraged immigrant groups to retain their distinctive characteristics under government multiculturalism policies.

Still, there is a clear increase in assimilation from the Third World, and the growth of nonwhite communities in Canadian cities has created new racial tensions. In his recent report to Parliament in March, Max Vachon, the Canadian federal human rights commissioner, warned, "Racism is likely to grow as the composition of Canada's population becomes increasingly diverse."

Disturbing indicators that Canada is becoming less tolerant have multiplied across the country. In Alberta, a poster campaign crudely caricatured a Sikh member of the RCMP as a terrorist, identifying him as "Sgt. Kasal Singh." Beneath the Mountie in traditional Canadian to the caption read, "In this Canada or does this one look like you?" In Thompson, Minn., a headline posted in a store early this year declared that the game season had been cancelled due to a lack of animals hunted, the poster said, "There will be open season on Indians." And in Vancouver, the latest wave of immigrants from Hong Kong will become part of mainland China in 1997, has provoked a strong backlash. Millions of it has been based at the well-to-do newscasters' rapid real estate purchases, which some people claim have helped to drive up housing prices.

Elsewhere, tempers have flared over a rash of police shootings of blacks in Newstead, tensions between the black community and local police were aggravated in April when a police officer fatally shot a 26-year-old black man, Prentice Leslie, in a nightclub. Recent incidents have occurred in Toronto, setting off a rising chorus of complaints that police treat blacks and other visible minorities unfairly—often with lethal consequences. Early in June, Ontario Provincial Police charged a Toronto police constable with the attempted murder of an unarmed black 16-year-old, Marlon Reid, who was wounded after allegedly speeding through a red speed trap. Within two years, five Toronto city or suburban



Applicants in a Toronto immigration office: increasing antagonism

police have been charged in connection with the shooting of a black person. Almost all the poll respondents—96 per cent of Americans and 99 per cent of Canadians—said that they believe "all races are created equal." However, 32 per cent of Americans and 18 per cent of Canadians said that some races "are generally superior to others." And Elizabeth Coghlan, 35, who was born in Mississippi, U.S., and now works for the Quebec government office of tourism in Washington, compared race relations in the United States to

French-English relations in Canada, Saint-Catharines. "There are two subcultures—that would best describe my experience in Washington as it pertains to blacks and whites. There is very little dialogue. I feel there is a wall there."

In response to another poll question, antagonism in each country—83 per cent of Americans and 61 per cent of Canadians—acknowledged telling ethnic or racial jokes, at only rarely. Forty-six per cent of Americans answered that and 38 per cent of Canadians claimed that they never do. Many analysts say that such jokes are a sign of at least latent racism. But, for all their negative connotations, experts say, they may also act as a safety valve for hostilities. "If you can laugh about it," said Dr. Vinick Vilnius, a psychiatrist at the University of Virginia, "you are not likely to let it out."

Although responses to the poll questions on race generally indicated few significant differences between Canadian and American attitudes, Marianne Bosman says that she experienced sharply contrasting attitudes in the two countries. Growing up in the New York borough of Queens, Bosman said that her well-educated, French-speaking family found it hard to associate with black Americans, and she always assumed them "those parents didn't let us play with their kids or invite us to their homes," she said.

Then, in 1978, Bosman married a Canadian and moved to Buffalo, N.Y., where her husband took pre-graduate studies in literature. "One day," Bosman recalled, "we were walking in our neighborhood holding hands, and a fellow pulled us next to us, pulled down a window and yelled 'nigger lover' at my husband."

Frightened by the anger in the community, Bosman and her husband moved across the border to Niagara Falls, Ont., and later to Ottawa, where she now teaches in an elementary school. "In this community, race relations are good," she said. But, for many people among Canada's nonwhite minorities, both immigrant and native, racial prejudice is no less painful for being less overt than the kind that Bosman experienced at the United States.

Tanzan refugees in St. John's: most agree that all races are equal



MILAN MACKENZIE



SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

FROM UNDER TWO HATS

'NATIONALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS IS INDEFENSIBLE'

JOHN IRVING

An novelist John Irving's 1989 best-seller, A Prayer for Owen Meany, published this month in paperback, Meany notes in a story that his best friend should have a "morally exhausted" United States during the Vietnam War as a motive of conscience and fresh proof of moral failure. The character was exempted from military draft and settled in Canada. "I'm sure it's a nice country to live in," Meany says. "Not enough, the friend finds, when he moves to Toronto and settles there as a schoolteacher. But he remains transfixed by the moral and political issues that plague his native land. Irving himself, who was born and

raised in Exeter, N.H., lives and writes part time in Canada—roughly one-third of each year in all, he estimates.

Irving and his Canadian wife of three years, literary agent Janet Turnbull Irving, divide their time among an apartment in Toronto, a summer cottage on Lake Huron's Georgian Bay and a home on Long Island, N.Y., a place that they plan to leave for a new home that they are building in southern Vermont. Irving, 48, visited Alexander Canada in his childhood summers and Montreal as a youth. He discussed the two countries, and whether they should become one, in a two-hour conversation with Maclean's as the Toronto house that the Irvings also use as a workplace. Excerpted from that conversation.

Throughout my childhood, Canada was always perceived as a more beautiful, unspoiled version of New Hampshire and Maine. We certainly had—I think most Americans had—no sense of any automotive differences. As kids, we were interested in the women and faking and lakes and forests, and the Canadians we met were all interested in the same thing. So it was never perceived as particularly different. It was always summertime, it was always people who enjoyed the outdoors.

It wasn't until I lived in Vermont in the 1960s and spent a lot of time in Montreal that I was aware of a political life in this country that was quite different and separate and not at all connected to my own. It was a great shock to me to realize, at a certain time in the 1960s, that if you were seen in Montreal as an English-Canadian you were treated rather badly, but if you were seen as an American it was okay. It was okay if you didn't speak French if you were an American. And that was probably my first awareness of this country as having a political life. I just made the gross assumption, that I think all Americans make, that the way things are done in Canada are rather like they are done in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

During the Vietnam years, I had friends who came here, and stayed here, both in Montreal and Toronto. I was of that generation where there was a lot of feeling about the war, and remember spending many hours with friends who were weighing the differences among Stockholm and Montreal and Toronto. I do know people, largely after the fact of the Vietnam years and not out of direct involvement, who say simply, "It was the period of the 1960s, between 1968 and 1970-1971, that a lot of people were just disgusted with what I would call ingrained deceit on the part of government. And I think the effects of that decade are still with us. I think that a sizable per cent of the people in the United States who do not vote are people who were conditioned in the 1960s to assume that anything anyone in government could automatically be discounted."

Should Canada and the United States become one country? Are they already one country culturally? I see it as a very basic conflict. It is the expectations of Canada's social system to look after the people who cannot take care of themselves. There is an such expectation in the United States. That is a huge difference between our two countries. And if our two countries were somehow one day to merge, I don't think that Canada's social welfare system would prevail in the United States. I think that our lack of social consciousness would overrun this country and be rather widely embraced by this country in a hurry.

I could put on another hat and say that, from a writer's point of view, I think nationalism in all its forms is both undeniably and artistically indefensible. I think that nationalism is just a bulging euphemism for provincialism. And it defies rather simply to me as the notion that the town you grew up in is better than all those towns you do not live in, and that your own beautiful town is somehow substantially better than all those beautiful towns that you have not played in. It is paralytic.

There is something about the constant exaltation of what is Canadian in Canadian culture that is truly provincial. Actually, Canada would be greatly helped by being a part of the United States. So I think that there are different sides to this argument. I do not read Alice Munro or Robertson Davies or Margaret Atwood for what is Canadian about them. I read them for what is good about them. And what is good about them is universal, and that is why they are also read outside of this country.

I cannot fervently state up and say this country and the United States should be one, or I cannot state the repercussions of that. Off the top of my head, I would say it is a terrible idea. But the more I think of it, the more to me it is already happening. And now I am going to get up again if it is a lot of trouble with a lot of my Canadian friends by saying that I think the cultural differences, for the most part, are not worth keeping.

Canada's notion of supporting its citizens is applicable, however, to Canada because a great big country, you just can't be able to do it anywhere. You say, by joining forces with us, join forces with all of our wonderful economic

opportunity. But I would hate to see what we would do to your water, among other things, or what we would do to your forests and scenery.

There are some things that are so deeply a part of the fabric of Canadian society that I think it is a little superficial to say simply that, because this culture is becoming more American day by day, that "Oh, what the hell, why not just go the whole hog and become like the United States?" There are things about the United States that are opposite to everything that now exists in the fabric of this culture. What I hear, at least by my service, is that this country still wants to help people who are not quite making it, whether it is in the area or whether it is so medical aid, whatever it is. People are not quite making it in the United States, and we just do not care if you are poor, it is your fault.

I also think that our countries might now share a very similar weakness in central government, which also makes it easy to spot superficial similarities. Those may become deeper similarities as time goes on, if your central government continues to resemble our central government. I think it is a sure indication of facile leadership in central government. I think the provinces, in our case, the states are afforded rights in excess of the central government's. It is a very badly democratic position. To recognize the rights of the province as to any extent greater than the rights of the country as a whole means that you do not believe in the country as a whole. It means that your leadership at the centre has crumbled.

In the United States, it is most randomly on the issue of abortion rights where that back has been passed, where Ronald Reagan and now George Bush, basically taking the courage to make the decision on its stand by the decision, are saying, "This decision is so tough. I think the states ought to make it themselves." And this is nothing but weak leadership. It is chaos. I think there is a similarity in weakness at the head.

It is an indication of how starved we are for a dramatic leader in our society. In North America—there we have leaders all the time, and kindness on Mikhail Gorbachev, and all the cards are not so on Gorbachev. He is a lot of trouble. You wish he were doing as well as he is in the eyes of the Western media. But I do not see it as a weakness that it seems so terribly attractive to us. Look at what we have to compare him to. Look at what a bunch of schemers we have running our countries, bungling diplomats by comparison. So I think that there is a danger.

There is always a danger where government has not been very effective, where leadership has not been very progressive. There is a great hunger for people to find somebody who is a real maverick. Sometimes, these people are very dangerous, and sometimes the Post Papers are genuine world-changers. I think that both this country and especially my country, as well as the whole world, are in some real uncomfortable places, which are out of the depths of our own making but, on the other hand, could get into a lot worse trouble.

PORTRAIT OF TWO NATIONS

MOOSE JAW, U.S.A.? NEVER! JAMAIS!

'WEEPING IS NO WAY TO SAVE A NATION'

PETER JENNINGS

Jennings, 51, Toronto-born son of CBC journalist and journalism professor Charles Jennings, began broadcasting when he was 9, hosting a weekly car radio and audio show for young people called *Peter's People*. He later worked on various radio and television news and public affairs programs in *Bowling*, *Out*, *Ottawa*, *Newsday* and *Time*, anchoring *CNN National News* from 1982 until he joined *ABC News* in New York City in 1984. From early 1985 until the end of 1987, Jennings was anchorman for the ABC nightly news, a position he retained in 1988 after wide-ranging assignments as chief foreign correspondent and in the United States. He returns to Canadian citizenship; Michael's second time to work abroad for his employers, and whether they should become one nation.

Since then, Jennings has worked in New York state the other day, on the way from Ottawa.

"The papers are \$5 BA," she said. But I had only a Canadian dollar. I'd have through the routine before.

"I'll take a Canadian note!" she said. "That's unimpressive of you," I said, surprised. "It's okay," she said. "I'm married to a Canadian." "Good news for me," I said. "They say are different," she said. And there it was in a nutshell, at the magazine stand. It seems to me that we have been reading about the Canadian-American differences in the pages of *Maclean's* ever since I was a child.

You know Canadians do not cross against the light. Canadians have more respect for their institutions, are more cautious, less adventurous, better to good today, are not ashamed to be boring.

Canada join the United States? Where would young Canadians run off to for adventure? Where would Americans run to escape?

"Which Canada do you have in mind anyway?" The one with or without Quebec? The whole idea is unsatisfactory—there is my bias at the outset.

When Michael's asked for my opinion on this eternal Canadian question, I was not paying close enough attention to the Moose Lake debate. It just did not seem as compelling as the Soviet Union and Western Europe in turmoil. Surely, I thought, Canadians would go only to the brink on an issue as profound.

Canada cannot seriously have lost its way like this. Was I as out of touch only a few weeks ago?

What had become of Canadian tolerance? English-Canadians stomping on the floor-deep? The last time I saw people behave like that was during the Iranian revolution.

For a day or so in June, I thought the present noise from north of the border was some cruel joke on Mikhail Gorbachev, designed to confuse him when he landed in Ottawa, to make him think he had not arrived in Canada after all, but in the Baltics.

I would write up in the middle of the night wondering, who is this guy Gary Filmon from Manitoba anyway? Doesn't Lucien Boivin know that successive U.S. administrations have unequivocally supported Canadian unity, a position not stated in Ottawa only the other day by Ambassador Edward Negt? If Canada breaks up, who says the United States would want to pick up the pieces anyway? Can't McNulty get his act together? On silence, he talks like a labor organizer, not the leader of a nation. Maybe George Bush should call him up and tell him about "the vision thing."

A few years ago, the state department did a study, according to Jean-François Leduc's book, *When I said I'd fight* (in the Eye of the Eagle), and apparently came to the conclusion that only British Columbia was worthy of statehood. I have forgotten why.

Not long ago, the editorial pages of *The Wall Street Journal* pointed out that growing statehood to the easters and near western provinces would only "bring three or four more hungry Democratic senators, accustomed to the classic Canadian-style pork barrel." The *Journal*, which, as always, advocated an acquisitive America, obviously believes that the United States has already had claim to most of the Canadian natural resources it needs.

I read in a report by Vancouver's *Prairie Post* last night that New Brunswick and Newfoundland receive about \$4 billion between them in subsidies from Ottawa every year. I don't know how eager the United States might be to provide additional provinces at those prices, but my guess is they would any longer. Canada's national health system is much admired by many in the United States, but you don't see American politicians rushing to pay for a similar system.

If assets were to become a serious possibility, Americans might decide for the first time that standard destiny has its limits.

So far, Americans have not given much consideration to governing Peterborough or Twillingate or Moose Jaw (as a rather strange mix to it—Moose Jaw, U.S.A., eh?). The global trend is towards smaller, not bigger. Look at the Soviet Union. And if Canada breaks up, what would become of those of us already down here? How will we triumphantly go on telling people that from Bath, Georgetown, Michael J. Fox, the first



transatlantic wireless message, the oldest newspaper, the world's largest controlled bridge, Traveler and Publishers were all Canadian.

Not to mention responsible government without revolution.

My children grew up to witness.

I was born in Ottawa and spent my teenage years in Quebec. Like Premier Ogle-Weiss of Newfoundland, I cannot conceive of Canada without Quebec any more than the United States without California, Louisiana or Ohio. And if it is true that a Canadian's national identity is defined in large measure by the fact that he is not an American, imagine how disruptive would damage the national psyche. Surely it is a mistake to define ourselves that way, but there it is.

There have been no real unity from here, for a quarter of a century. Canadians make good travellers. We make good foreign correspondents because we tend to see the world as it is, which is not always quite the way Washington believes that it is. I believe, after all these years, that Canadians would clutch at the idea of living under a superpower. We were never that comfortable living out door to our. Americans grow up isolated with a sense of power; Canadians never up appreciating the value of subaltern. Canadians are more comfortable—and more so two more effective—working influence.

So Wilfrid Laurier, Canada's prime minister in the early 1900s, was wrong about the 30th century belonging to Canada. But, in the final years of the American century, let Canadians enjoy the benefits of being an advanced modern state without the burdens and attendant guilt of an imperial past.

There is great and justifiable pride in being an American. It seems anomalous that everyone at the world wants to look and sound like Americans. But just as the great imperial powers left the stage, in the American era is passing. Constatations would indeed make irrelevant Canada's ability to steer an independent course. Looking to the east with which some Canadians speak of joining the United States. I wonder if they understand the difference between assimilation and being swallowed up altogether.

It is the wrong season for me to be writing this. I always get homesick in the spring. So if Michael's is looking for a rational response to the possibility of new North American nations, they have come to the wrong guy.

Maybe it takes all these years at a distance to fully see Canada as it should be: 10 provinces and two territories, free, wonderfully diverse, but bounded into one splendid, singular whole. Diverse and separate, at least as often as a fabulous synthesis? Please, no more. Finally.

And finally, I think of one insurmountable difference between our two remarkable nations. It would simply not be possible in the United States for 11 politicians to be sitting around a table negotiating the breaking of their country without millions of Americans publicly demonstrating their refusal to accept this outrage.

Quit weeping over Canada's nationalists in no way to save the nation.

PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS



THE YANKS HAVE ALL THEY WANT

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Why does everyone always look at the dark side of things? Why doesn't everyone take the positive side of things, a well-known lesson on the back page? In every class there is some silver. We must look for it. The Moslems have some silver in it: it is that the Americans, watching this unacceptable warhead from the outside, will be further dissuaded from any suspicion of acquiring our troubles.

Canadians, in their concern, always assume that the voracious Yanks want ever more territory and cast covetous eyes that way. In truth, Americans are very inside people. They simply want to be left alone. They are not outsiders by nature, being forced by peoples who left other lands because of their troubles and misadventures there. Having loaded the horse of the time and the land of the space, they know they have discovered Nevada and are content.

Americans did not seek our world leadership. It was thrust on them, willy nilly after the 1945 war because of the collapse of British energy and the rising threat of the Soviet Union. Most Americans resent the burden of foreign aid they have had to supply, just as a previous generation didn't like Woodrow Wilson's championing of the League of Nations. Most Americans, if they had their way, wish the United Nations would get to hell out of New York and go off to Geneva so the Swiss could figure out what to do with foreign diplomats with well-to-do wives who refuse to pay parking tickets.

Americans have yet to figure out what to do with their black population, which, although only 12 per cent of the 250 million total, grows from 28 to 32 per cent trouble. Because Americans can't figure out what to do, their inner cities are being destroyed, drug and crime are rampant, and a permanent underclass is being formed. You think Americans want to assert Quebec too, not to mention Newfoundland?

The seeping Hispanic population is bringing increased pressure on the idea of Spanish as an official second language. Do you think Americans want to wrestle with the problem of



assimilating seven million proud Québécois who are accustomed to official bilingual status? Canada can't figure out Quebec after 123 years, do you, Mississippi and New Mexico want to have a say?

This standard theory up here is that the Americans lost after our war and our resources. Yes, do they know they would have to take Bill Vander Zalm too? That should frighten them. The thought of having to listen to Jean Chrétien's eloquence in another language—would give them pause to think.

One of the blarney things about the innocent acceptance of John Buchanan was the assumption—given the leaving of Quebec—that the Atlantic provinces could just automatically join the United States. Who says the United States would want the Atlantic provinces?

Sherry water plants that don't work? Fish stocks that have been plundered? A million-

based mortality? R.C. Irving, for God's sake? And, thrown in to boot, Clyde Wells? The Yanks have troubles enough of their own.

Besides all this, there is the simple reality that the Americans don't have to try very hard to win Canada. They do that anyway, thanks to the let-it-be-and-enjoy-it complacency of their hosts. The Prime Minister of the country proudly announced on his election that Canada was "open for business again." Meaning, nice. After one of the periodic spells of nationalism, in trying to negotiate its pride, Ottawa was now telling the Americans to revert to their usual role: raising this country as a breadbasket, frozen-banana republic.

When you can get the milk for free, why buy the cow?—as a million mothers have warned their daughters. The present government

doesn't take this as a warning, it takes it as a challenge. View its scrupulous attitude to the instructions of Jack Webster and the Hollywood film industry. View its (how?) how high? attitude to American Express moving into Canadian banking. View its every-one-excludes-no-one attitude towards the U.S. invasion of Panama. If there is one thing Canada, in its hour of discontent, does not have to worry about, it is American criticism of expansion northward. America at the moment is turning ever more inward, as the developments in Germany and Eastern Europe demand American power.

There are no longer any superpowers. Moscow is in terrible trouble with its economy and communist republics. America is worried about Japan and its own economic future. There are now no giants, just lions. Canadians are wrong—more wrong than they usually are—if they think Americans are spending their time at this point in their troubles wanting to invade Saskatchewan.

We should be content. Content is our knowledge that we just have the small problem of Quebec (and Clyde Wells) to deal with. The country will survive, warning as usual.

To a scribe who has recently been five years in Washington, viewing the American problem (and variant) as first as a harassed master from Marx, one regards an American love for Canadian property as remote as a complete sentence of English from George Bush.

They have got much better things to do with their time, and so do we. Such as adapting to the never-solvable riddle within the regions of Quebec. Besides, the Americans don't have to buy us. Brave Mulroney is leaving us out, week by increasing week.



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